ABORIGINAL PEOPLE IN MANITOBA

Canada

Manitoba

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INTRODUCTION

In 1995, the Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat of the Manitoba Department of Northern Affairs produced a 46-page report entitled PROFILE OF MANITOBA'S ABORIGINAL POPULATION. The purpose of the report was to "... provide information on the situation Aboriginal people face in their daily lives. It outlines the demographic, social and economic conditions affecting Aboriginal people... The report does not recommend ways to address and prioritize the issues nor does it propose remedies."

Photocopied and spiral-bound, the report flew off display racks wherever it was to be found. Over 3,000 copies were eventually sent out to schools, government offices and social services agencies.

Donna Stewart was the researcher and writer of the report. In 1999, she and Aboriginal Affairs Executive Director Harvey Bostrom approached the Aboriginal Single Window office in Winnipeg with a proposal to partner on the production of an updated report incorporating 1996 Census data. It was agreed that the new report would be professionally printed and receive a wide distribution, including all schools and libraries in Manitoba.

The 1995 report was based on 1991 Census material, supplemented by federal and provincial government research reports. Comparison of 1991 and earlier censuses allowed trends to be highlighted where social conditions had changed in recent years.

It rapidly became apparent this would be much more difficult to do in the case of the 1996 Census, because of a new way of defining who is Aboriginal for census purposes. In 1991 and earlier, respondents receiving the "long form" (20% sample) were asked to which ethnic groups their ancestors belonged—with Metis, Inuit and North American Indian given as suggested responses. If a person ticked any of these boxes, even as part of a multiple response, they were counted as Aboriginal.

The 1991 Aboriginal People's Survey, sent out to a sample of 1991 Aboriginal-origin respondents, asked an additional question: does the respondent identify with or consider oneself to be a member of one of the three Aboriginal groups? It was found that, nationally, close to 25% of people with partial Aboriginal ancestry did not consider themselves to be Aboriginal persons, although this varied significantly among Canadian regions and provinces.

To be consistent with equity legislation, which is based on self-identification, and also to give a more accurate picture of the people likely to access services directed at Aboriginal people, the 1996 Census incorporated the Aboriginal-identity question. As well, the wording of the ethnic ancestry question was changed to a degree that 1996 results were not comparable with 1991 and earlier.

As a result, data from the 1996 Census on Aboriginal original or identity people is not directly comparable with earlier census data except, for certain purposes, the Aboriginal Peoples Survey. This makes comparison of 1996 and earlier censuses difficult. To some extent, the research team for this book has tried to get around this by using any available evidence to assess whether trends identified in the 1995 report are still valid for the 1990s or whether what was previously believed to be true should be re-evaluated. But many question marks remain.

This book is a joint initiative of the Government of Canada and the Province of Manitoba. It is a snapshot of Manitoba's Aboriginal population in the late 1990s and is intended to:

- Serve as a resource for policy makers;
- Provide general information for those who want to learn about Aboriginal Manitobans;
- Provide factual information to aid in eliminating misinformation and stereotypes; and
- Provide baseline information for measuring program results.

In 2000, a special roll-up of 1996 Census data was obtained by Aboriginal Single Window, in cooperation with Manitoba Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat and the Manitoba Department of Family Services and Housing. 1996 Census data in this book, unless otherwise footnoted, are from this source.

Bruce Hallett, M.A.
Winnipeg Aboriginal Single Window

DEFINITIONS

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE

People who self-identify with one or more of the three Aboriginal groups recognized in Canada's Constitution (North American Indians, Metis and Inuit), or are registered under the Indian Act.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

People who self-identify as North American Indian, or a particular group such as Ojibway, Cree, Dakota or Dene. Terms used synonymously in this book: Indians, First Nations people.

STATUS INDIANS

People registered under Canada's Indian Act, including those reinstated since 1985 under the terms of Bill C-31. Terms used synonymously in this book: Status people, First Nations people.

NON-STATUS INDIANS

North American Indians not registered under the Indian Act.

METIS

People who self-identify as Metis and are not registered under the Indian Act.

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HIGHLIGHTS

POPULATION

There were 128,910 Aboriginal people in Manitoba in 1996, or 11.7% of the population. This proportion is much higher than other provinces except Saskatchewan (11.4%).

STATUS INDIANS

The 1996 Census counted 81,715 Status Indians in Manitoba. Of these, 58% lived on reserve, 27% in Winnipeg, and 15% elsewhere, mostly in the smaller urban centres. In northern Manitoba, 83% of Status Indians live on reserve, where Cree is almost as likely as English to be spoken in the home.

METIS

The 1996 Census counted 41,005 Metis-identity people in Manitoba, not counting Status Indians who indicated Metis identity. Fifty-two percent lived in Winnipeg, 15% in eight other urban centres, and 33% in smaller communities. English is the language most commonly spoken in 94% of Metis homes.

INUIT AND NON-STATUS INDIANS

Of the Aboriginal population, 4.6% cannot be classified as either Metis or Status Indian. Most are Non-Status Indians. The Census counted only 245 Inuit people in Manitoba.

POPULATION TRENDS

Between 1991 and 1996, there was a 1.9% net out-migration of Aboriginal people from Winnipeg. This reversed in-migration trends from 1950 to 1990. Reserves experienced a net in-migration, while off reserve areas outside Winnipeg lost people both to Winnipeg and to reserves.

AGE DISTRIBUTION

The Aboriginal population is very young, because its birth rate is twice that of the non-Aboriginal population. As a result, about one fifth of Manitoba's children aged 14 and under are Aboriginal. Birth rates are especially high among Status Indians, both on and off reserve.

TEEN BIRTHS

Teen births occur among Status people at three times the average rate, and 20% of First Nations births are to single mothers under 20 years of age.

LIFE EXPECTANCY

Nationally, life expectancy of Aboriginal people lags behind the general population by eight years for men and seven years for women. The difference is smaller for urban Aboriginal people, and greater on reserve.

MORTALITY RATES

Status Indian neonatal (age 0-28 days) death rates have declined, and no longer exceed the Canadian average. Status post-neonatal (age 29 days to one year) death rates remain three times higher than the National average. For children aged one to four they are four times higher. For children aged five to fourteen they are two and a half times higher, and for young adults aged 15-39 they are three times higher.

INJURY AND POISONING

Among Status Indians aged one to 45 years, injury and poisoning are the leading causes of death. Within this category, the leading causes are motor vehicle accidents and suicide. Drowning and homicide are particularly common in Manitoba.

SUICIDE

While injury and poisoning deaths have fallen since 1980, suicide rates have remained constant. Among Status youth aged 15-24, suicide rates are five times the national average for males and seven times for females.

DIABETES

Diabetes rates among Status Indians have increased considerably during the 1990s. There were 3,700 confirmed cases in 1994. This number is projected to increase to 15,000 by 2015 and 20,000 by 2025, due to earlier onset and an aging population. Over this same period the cost of treating diabetes and its complications, already 18% of the provincial health budget, is projected to increase by 130% for the general population and 330% for the Status population.

HEART DISEASE

Co-morbidity between diabetes and high blood pressure leads to sharply increased risk of heart disease. As a result, the increased prevalence of diabetes among Status Indians has resulted in an approximate doubling of hospital admissions for heart disease from 1985 to 1996.

HOSPITALIZATION RATES

Age-standardized hospitalization rates for Status Indians are much higher than for the general population, due to increased risk of injury, higher rates of certain diseases and restricted availability of out-patient services in isolated communities.

DISABILITIES

Age-standardized Aboriginal disability rates are between one and a half and two times higher than the total population. Metis disability rates among ages 15-64 are slightly higher than among Status Indians. Impairments of sight, hearing and speech are more common among Aboriginal people than non-Aboriginal people. The number of disabled Aboriginal people will increase due to an aging population and the effects of diabetes.

CHILDREN IN CARE

Status and Non-Status Indian children are in care of Child and Family Service (CFS) agencies in highly disproportionate numbers, and these numbers are growing. In 1997, over 70% of Manitoba children in care were Aboriginal. From 1988 to 1998, the Aboriginal case-load of Winnipeg CFS tripled, while the non-Aboriginal case load declined. The proportion of Status children under care of First Nations CFS agencies declined in the 1990s.

FUNCTIONAL LITERACY

Aboriginal youth are becoming more likely to complete Grade Nine, but so are non-Aboriginal youth. Of Status youth aged 15-29, 22% on reserve and 10% off reserve have not completed Grade Nine, compared to just 2% of non-Aboriginal youth and 5% of Metis youth. Failure to complete Grade Nine, an indicator of basic functional literacy, continues to be associated with geographic isolation.

HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION

Aboriginal high school completion rates improved during the 1990s but are still much lower than the total population. Graduation rates vary among Aboriginal groups, from a high of 57% of Metis aged 30-39 to a low of 15% for Status people on reserve aged 50 and over. Even among Metis, age-standardized graduation rates are 20% lower than for the non-Aboriginal population. Among Status Indians, especially on reserve, the gap is greater.

ADULT EDUCATION

Aboriginal people over 25 are more likely to continue their education than non-Aboriginal people. By 1996, about half of Aboriginal adults aged 30-49 had completed high school, and most of these had proceeded to some post-secondary education. In occupational prospects, there is a wide gulf between this group and the similar sized group of Aboriginal adults who have not completed high school.

UNIVERSITY

Aboriginal people are far less likely to attend or complete university. Manitoba's university graduation rate of three percent is typical among provinces, but less than Saskatchewan's seven percent. Most Aboriginal university graduates are women. Metis people, though more likely to complete high school than Status Indians, are less likely to attend university, apparently because they are ineligible for federally funded post-secondary programs.

OTHER POST-SECONDARY

Most Aboriginal people pursuing post-secondary education attend community colleges or training projects. In 1996, 24% of Metis aged 40-49 had completed some sort of non-university post-secondary education, as had 19% of Status Indians aged 40-49.

FOCUS ON YOUTH

Manitoba has the lowest rate of school attendance among Aboriginal youth of any province or territory in Canada. In 1996, only 44% of Manitoba Aboriginal youth were attending school either full or part time. Manitoba also has the greatest gap between Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal youth school attendance rates of any province except Quebec. This suggests that the gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal conditions will continue to widen in Manitoba, relative to the rest of the country.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

Manitoba's 1996 Aboriginal youth unemployment rate of 35.5% was close to the national average of 34.4%. An Aboriginal youth in Manitoba is three and a half times more likely to be unemployed as a non-Aboriginal youth. The employment gap diminishes at higher levels of education.

NOT AT SCHOOL OR EMPLOYED

In 1996, 27% of Manitoba Aboriginal youth neither attended school nor participated in the labour market. Adding the unemployed, 38% of youth were neither attending school nor employed. These numbers are higher than in any other province.

YOUNG OFFENDERS

Over 70% of all admissions to youth correctional facilities in 1997/98 were Aboriginal. Aboriginal juveniles were 12 times as likely to be admitted to a facility if male and 22 times if female. Aboriginal youth aged 20 to 24 were 11 times as likely to be admitted to an adult correctional facility.

STREET GANGS

An estimated 37 street gangs actively recruited during the 1990s. By 2000, there were 1,896 gang members listed, plus 1,239 inactive members having no police contact for two years. None of the gangs restrict membership to Aboriginal youth; however Aboriginal youth are heavily represented in some of the street gangs.

THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

Crime rates appear to be higher among Aboriginal communities–as much as twice as high. Aboriginal people in Manitoba are currently more than ten times as likely to be incarcerated. The Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, which reported in 1991, linked this to "systemic discrimination" at every stage of the criminal justice process. The Inquiry presented a great deal of research data and analysis in support of this view.

INCARCERATION RATES

The Aboriginal proportion of the prison population in Manitoba has increased from 10% in 1950 to as high as 70% in 2000. The female Aboriginal proportion is even higher. A majority of female inmates have been the victims of sexual or physical abuse.

RECENT TRENDS

Aboriginal overrepresentation in prisons has worsened in the 1990s, even though crime rates have declined and new sentencing options have reduced general incarceration rates. The provincial and federal governments are collaborating in exploring "restorative justice" programs aimed at developing alternatives to incarceration based upon traditional First Nations and Metis justice practices.

LABOUR MARKET STATISTICS

Manitoba's Aboriginal labour market participation rate in 1996 was 54%, showing no improvement since 1981. The unemployment rate was 25%, slightly worse than 1981 (a recession year) and three and a quarter times that of the non-Aboriginal labour force. The number of jobs available to Aboriginal people in these 15 years has just kept up with the rapid increase in the Aboriginal working age population.

EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION

Aboriginal unemployment rates are higher at every level of education. However, Aboriginal people with post-secondary education are more likely than non-Aboriginal people to participate in the labour market, narrowing the gap in employment rates.

LABOUR MARKET ANALYSIS

There are differences in labour market characteristics between Metis and Status people, as well as between Status people inside and outside Winnipeg, on and off reserve. Analyzing these groups individually, rather than under the general rubric of "Aboriginal people," reveals that a lot of the things commonly believed about the Aboriginal labour market are simply false.

METIS LABOUR MARKET

In 1996 Metis adults and youth participated in the labour market at rates similar to the non-Aboriginal population, but had unemployment rates about three times as high. Across the province, the Metis participation rate was 68%, the unemployment rate 20%, and the employment rate 52%. Metis women have lower rates of unemployment than men.

STATUS LABOUR MARKET

Status Indian labour market participation rates in Winnipeg and on reserve are identical at 46%, considerably lower than either Metis or non-Aboriginal rates. Thirty-five percent were unemployed in Winnipeg, and an average of 30% on reserve; therefore employment rates were only 30% to 32%. Two observations arise from this: one, these figures point to a "discouraged worker effect" in both settings; and two, Winnipeg's economy was unlikely to act as a magnet for job seekers from reserves in the 1990s, explaining the lack of migration to Winnipeg.

ON/OFF RESERVE LABOUR

Participation and employment rates are higher off-reserve outside Winnipeg, but so are mobility rates. Each census, fewer Status people live in these areas, and those that remain are extremely transient. This, plus Winnipeg's recent poor economic showing for Status people, means that traditional on/off reserve differences in Status labour market indicators are steadily shrinking, in Manitoba if not nationally.

STATUS WOMEN AND WORK

Status women on reserve have a much lower unemployment rate (22%) than men on reserve (36%) or Status women in Winnipeg (32%). Male and female employment rates on reserve are similar, which reflects traditionally female occupations that have devolved to First Nations administration during the 1980s and 1990s.

SELF-EMPLOYMENT

From 1981 to 1996, self-employment among Aboriginal Manitobans has increased much faster than the non-Aboriginal rate, especially among young people and Metis. Aboriginal businesses created one in four new jobs for Aboriginal people in this period.

INCOME

Median annual incomes for Aboriginal people are far below average. As compared to the non-Aboriginal income of $18,258, Metis received a median income of $12,219. Status people received $9,714 off reserve outside Winnipeg, $8,850 in Winnipeg and $6,755 on reserve. The gap between male and female incomes is far less among Aboriginal people.

SOURCE OF INCOME

Government transfers are the major source of annual income of 38% of Status Indian adults, 20% of Metis and 5% of non-Aboriginal adults. Employment is the major source of income of 36% Status, 57% Metis and 64% non-Aboriginal.

SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

Social assistance rates are highest on southern reserves and among Status women in Winnipeg. In any month, 53% of reserve households receive social assistance. This rate has remained constant for many years in Manitoba while rising steeply in other provinces, especially Alberta.

INCOME ADEQUACY

The most commonly used indicators are Statistics Canada's "Low Income Cut-offs (LICO)," which vary according to household size and community population. Outside reserves, 66% of Status, 41% of Metis and 18% of non-Aboriginal households in Manitoba have incomes less than the LICO. Aboriginal low-income rates are highest in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

WINNIPEG INCOMES

In Winnipeg, a much larger proportion of Metis and Status Indian households fall below the LICO, as compared to off reserve outside Winnipeg. In Winnipeg, 51% of Metis fall below the LICO, as do 75% of Status Indians, indicating lower average standards of living in Winnipeg. Though the LICO is not applicable on reserve, Census data do not demonstrate any significant difference in standard of living between Status Indians living in Winnipeg and on reserve.

INCOME AND FAMILY TYPE

Across Manitoba, 57% of Status Indian couples with children fall below the LICO, and 66% in Winnipeg. For Metis, the numbers are much lower due to greater labour market participation: 30% and 38%. Among lone parent families, 89% of Status Indians and 82% of Metis fall below the LICO.

FOCUS ON WINNIPEG

In 1966, 45,750 Aboriginal people resided in Winnipeg, more than any other Canadian city. Winnipeg's Aboriginal population is evenly split between Status Indians and Metis.

WINNIPEG'S INNER CITY

Aboriginal people are located throughout Winnipeg, but are concentrated in the inner North and West Ends of the city. Here, they account for over 20% of the population of 14 different census tracts, a concentration not found elsewhere in Canada. Aboriginal single parents and unattached individuals are particularly concentrated in the inner city. Of Aboriginal inner city households, 85% fall below the LICO. Street gangs and arson were emerging issues during the 1990s.

WINNIPEG'S OUTER CITY

In some neighbourhoods outside the inner city Aboriginal people approach city averages in terms of education and income, but less so in terms of unemployment rates and residential stability. Depending on the neighbourhood, two-parent families are two to three times as common as in the inner city.

WINNIPEG SINGLE PARENTS

In Winnipeg, 61% of First Nations families and 41% of Metis families are led by a single parent. Low incomes, high shelter costs, and frequent residential moves are issues for these families. Aboriginal single parents reside in Winnipeg in highly disproportionate numbers—a First Nations family is four times as likely to be led by a single parent in Winnipeg as compared to on reserve.

HOMEOWNERSHIP

Province-wide, 50% of Metis live in owner occupied housing, but only 14% of Status Indians. On reserve 84% live in Band housing, accounting for nearly half the province's Status population. In Winnipeg, 83% of Status Indians and 63% of Metis are renters. The distribution of lower-cost rental units in Winnipeg determines the distribution of most of its Aboriginal population.

SHELTER COSTS

Forty-three percent of Metis and 52% of Status renters pay more than 30% of their income on shelter. These figures are higher in Winnipeg, and lower in northern Manitoba.

HOUSING CONDITION

According to Census data, 33% of Aboriginal families live in housing needing minor repairs, and 27% major repairs. Average housing condition is best in Winnipeg, and worst on reserve, where 41% (both north and south) indicate a need for major repairs.

CROWDING

Crowding is partly a factor of family size, and partly of housing cost and supply: 41% of Status people, 22% of Metis and 14% of non-Aboriginal people live in housing with one or more persons per bedroom. This may or may not indicate overcrowding. However, 10% of Aboriginal people live in housing with two or more persons per bedroom, which does. Crowding is worst in the north, where 15% of Status Indians on reserve and 17% off reserve have two or more people per bedroom.

HOUSING ON RESERVE

Nationally, the number of housing units on reserve increased by 25% between 1990 and 1995, about twice the actual population increase. Thirty years of "catch-up" construction on reserve have increased the supply to the extent that crowding is only slightly more in evidence among Status people on reserve than off. However, housing condition and suitability remain serious concerns.

MIGRATION

Higher numbers of Status and Metis people indicated on the 1996 Census a different address one or five years ago. But omitting those who merely changed residences within the same municipality, there is little overall difference in Aboriginal versus non-Aboriginal migration rates (16% vs. 13% over five years). Status Indians on northern reserves and Metis in Winnipeg (9%) are less migratory than the provincial average, while Status Indians in Winnipeg (21%) and off reserve outside Winnipeg (37%) are more migratory.

MIGRANT CHARACTERISTICS

Aboriginal migrants are found in disproportionate numbers off reserve outside Winnipeg, and in less than average numbers in Winnipeg and on reserve. As a group, the migrants are young: 59% of migrant Aboriginal adults are aged 15-29 compared to 42% of all Aboriginal adults. Their educational levels are higher than average, but labour market participation rates are below average and unemployment rates well above average. Incomes are extremely low, and social assistance needs high.

MIGRANTS LIVING IN WINNIPEG

Among Status Indian migrants to Winnipeg, the employment rate is only 21%, the unemployment rate 49%. By contrast, Metis migrants to Winnipeg are less likely to be unemployed than non-migrants.

LOCAL RESIDENTIAL MOVES

Most of the apparently high mobility rate of Aboriginal people consists of residential moves within the same municipality. This pertains particularly to Winnipeg, where of 37,405 Aboriginal people aged five and over in 1996, only 10,385 lived at the same address five years earlier. In the past year alone, 30% had moved. This is linked to the low rate of homeownership. Annual moving rates in some inner city districts exceed 70%.

CHAPTER ONE: DEMOGRAPHICS

MANITOBA'S ABORIGINAL POPULATION

In 1996, 128,910 Aboriginal people lived in Manitoba according to Statistics Canada, accounting for 11.7% of Manitoba's total population. The Aboriginal proportion of the population has been increasing rapidly over the past 20 years. In 1981 the Aboriginal population was 66,280 or 6.5% of the total. In 1986 this had risen to 93,450 or 8.7% and in 1991 to 116,200 or 10.6%.[1]

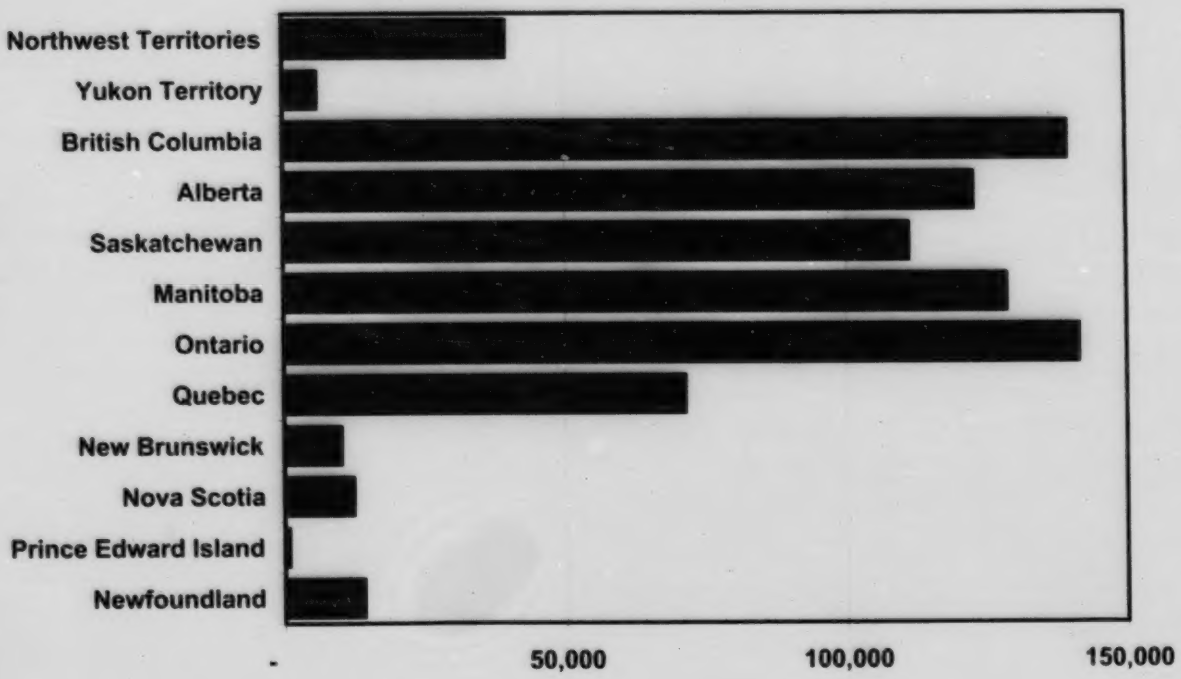
While the total population of Manitoba has been relatively stable, the Aboriginal population has been increasing due to a higher birth rate than the non-Aboriginal population, combined with an Aboriginal mortality rate which is much lower than prior to 1981. Other factors which have been linked to the apparent growth of this population are (1) greater propensity to declare Aboriginal origins, (2) the effects of Bill C-31, (3) improved Census coverage of remote and urban populations, and (4) more diligent Indian Act registration of young children.

CANADA'S ABORIGINAL POPULATION

Manitoba is one of several provinces and territories with a significant Aboriginal population, ranking third in total population behind Ontario (141,525) and British Columbia (139,655).[2] Almost one in six Canadian Aboriginal people reside in Manitoba.

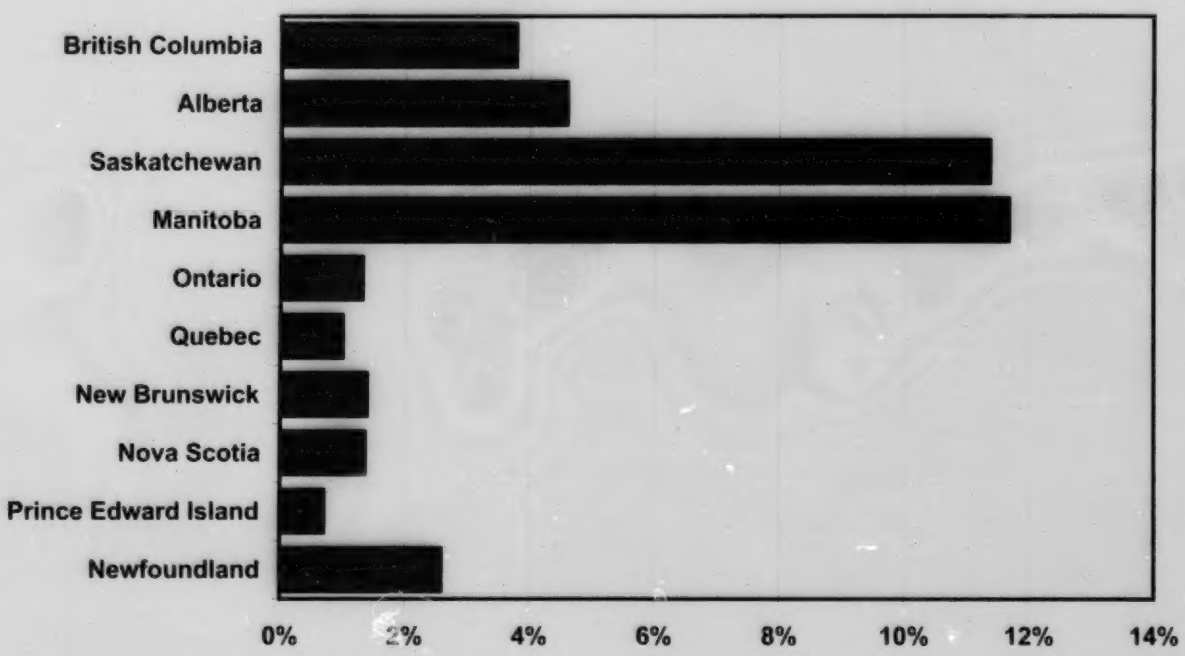
In 1996, 45,750 Aboriginal people resided in the city of Winnipeg alone—about equal to the number of Aboriginal people living in the Nunavut,[3] Yukon and Northwest Territories combined.

Geographic Distribution of Canadian Aboriginal Population, 1996 Census



Proportionally, Manitoba and Saskatchewan have the highest percentage of Aboriginal people among the ten provinces. Because of the relatively low total population in these two provinces, Aboriginal people comprise 11.7% and 11.4% of their respective populations. Alberta is third at 4.6%, followed by British Columbia at 3.8%. Aboriginal people are only 1.3% of the population of Ontario, and 1% in Quebec.[4]

Aboriginal as percent of Total Population, by Provinces excluding Territories, 1996 Census

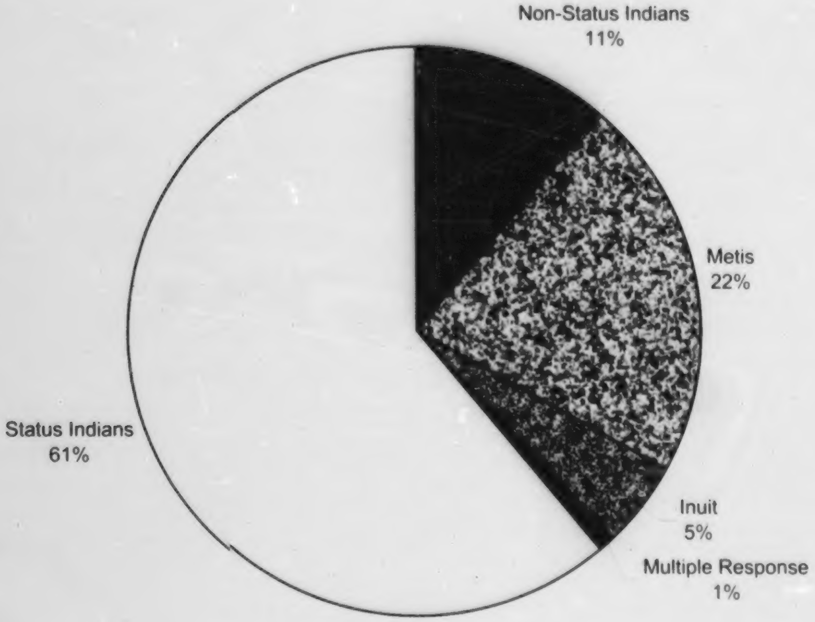


ABORIGINAL GROUPS

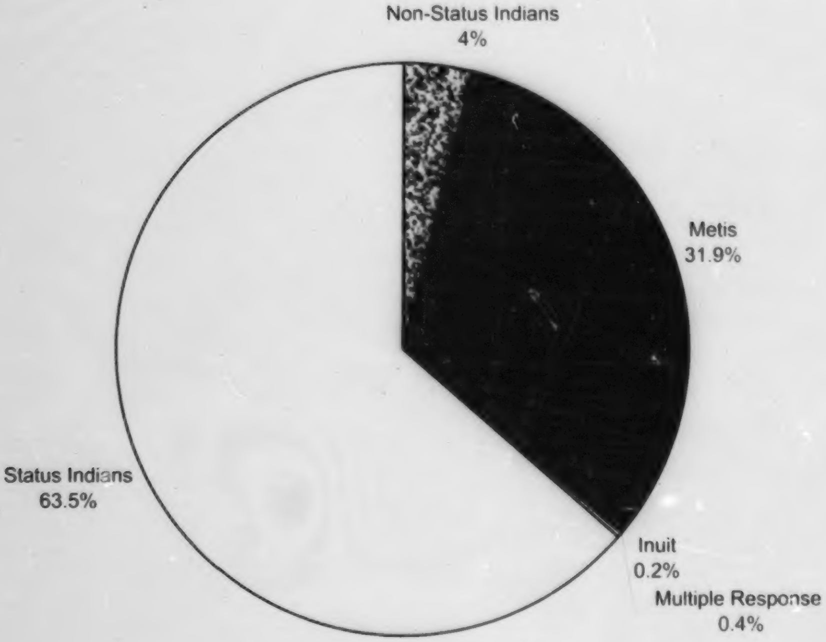
According to Statistics Canada data, 80,620 or 62.6% of Manitoba's Aboriginal people fall under the North American Indian classification. This includes Status, non-Status, treaty and non-treaty. First Nation groups indigenous to Manitoba include Ojibway, Cree, Oji-Cree, Dakota and Dene.

Of Manitoba's Aboriginal people, 81,715 or 63.5% are Status Indians, i.e. persons registered under the Indian Act. There is a distinction between the Status Indian group and the North American Indian identity group, because some Status Indians identify with a different group (Metis), and some Indian-identity people are not registered under the Indian Act (Non-Status Indians). In some other provinces, particularly in the east, the Indian-identity group is much larger than the Status Indian group.

CANADA 1996



MANITOBA 1996



Manitoba's population includes a larger percentage of Metis people than the Canadian average. There are 41,005 Metis people in Manitoba comprising 31.9% of Manitoba's Aboriginal population, as compared to the Canadian average of 22.4%.[5]

Inuit and non-Status Indians constitute a smaller proportion of Aboriginal people in Manitoba, as compared to the national average.

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION WITHIN MANITOBA

In 1996, 45,750 or 35.5% of Manitoba's Aboriginal people lived in Winnipeg. Another 47,215 or 36.5% lived on reserve in 62 Bands/First Nations scattered throughout the province. The remaining 28% lived in other urban settings, Metis communities, rural areas or Crown Land.

Of the approximately 80,000 Status Indians counted during the 1996 Census, 58% lived on reserve, 27% in Winnipeg and 15% elsewhere—mostly in urban settings. Of the approximately 40,000 Metis, 52% lived in Winnipeg, 15% in eight other larger urban settings (see below) and 33% in smaller communities—many in predominantly Metis communities, some adjacent to First Nations and some not. Approximately 3,500 Metis lived in communities under the jurisdiction of the Manitoba Northern Affairs Act. Unlike Alberta, no lands in Manitoba have been set aside for Metis settlements.

In Manitoba, 5,895 Aboriginal people could not be classified as either Status Indians or Metis, according to Census data. Of these, 5,155 indicated North American Indian identity but not registration under the Indian Act (non-Status Indians). The rest were Inuit (245) or indicated multiple Aboriginal identity but not registration under the Indian Act (495). Sixty-five percent of this group lived in Winnipeg, with 2,000 in other urban or rural settings.

NORTH/SOUTH SPLIT

Fifty-three thousand, four hundred forty-five Aboriginal people live in Northern Manitoba, as defined by the Manitoba Department of Northern and Aboriginal Affairs.[6] This is 42% of Manitoba's Aboriginal population.

Aboriginal people comprise a clear majority (57%) of the people in Northern Manitoba, as compared to 7% of the population in Winnipeg and 8.2% in southern Manitoba outside Winnipeg. In the north, 98% of people on reserve and 28% of people off reserve are Aboriginal. In the north, about 70% of Aboriginal people live on reserve, compared to less than 15% in the south including Winnipeg. Many southern First Nations have 50% or more of their members residing off reserve. North and south are two very different contexts for Aboriginal people in Manitoba.

Fully 44,645 or 83.5% of northern Aboriginal people are Status Indians, of whom 36,930 or 83% live on reserve. Manitoba has a higher proportion of its on-reserve citizens living in isolated, fly-in communities than any other province—32% according to Indian Affairs data. Of 7,715 off reserve Status Indians in the north, half live in Thompson or The Pas, and half elsewhere in the north.

Fifteen percent of northern Aboriginal people are Metis, of whom 570 live on Indian Reserves and 7,175 elsewhere. The urban centres of Thompson, The Pas and Flin Flon account for just 2,500 Metis in the north, leaving over 4,500 in scattered settlements, many of which are Northern Affairs communities adjacent to reserves. An additional 1,055 Aboriginal people in the north are non-Status Indians or Inuit. There are issues around access to services for many of these northerners.

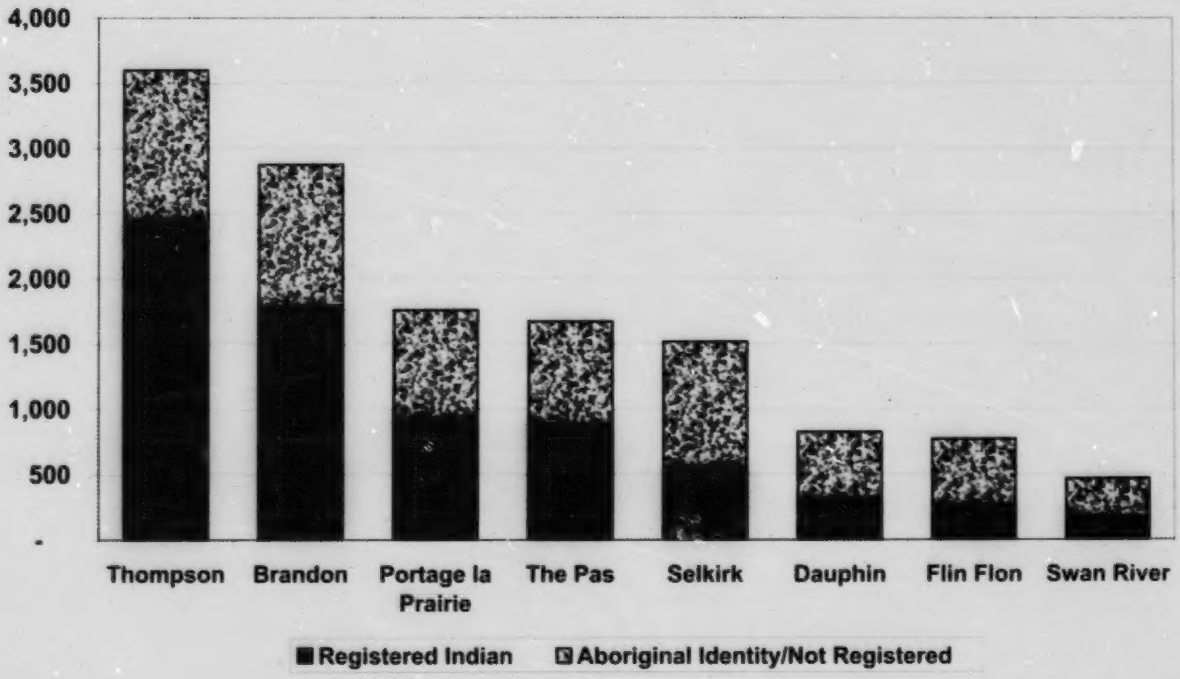
Seventy-four thousand, seventy or 58% of Aboriginal people live in southern Manitoba, of whom 45,750 or 62% live within the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) of Winnipeg. In the south as a whole, 49% of Aboriginal people are Status, 44.5% Metis, and 6.5% other Aboriginal.

In the south outside Winnipeg, 10,060 Status people live on reserve and 6,725 off reserve, mostly in urban settings. In southern Manitoba, 13,175 Metis persons live outside Winnipeg (a mere 100 of whom reside on reserves), plus 1,450 other Aboriginal persons. Strikingly, 81% of Manitoba Metis people are located in the south including Winnipeg, as compared to only 45% of Status Indians.

URBAN DISTRIBUTION

Outside Winnipeg, no Manitoba urban area has an Aboriginal population of more than about 4,000 people. The following chart shows the Aboriginal populations of eight urban municipalities where Friendship Centres are located:[7]

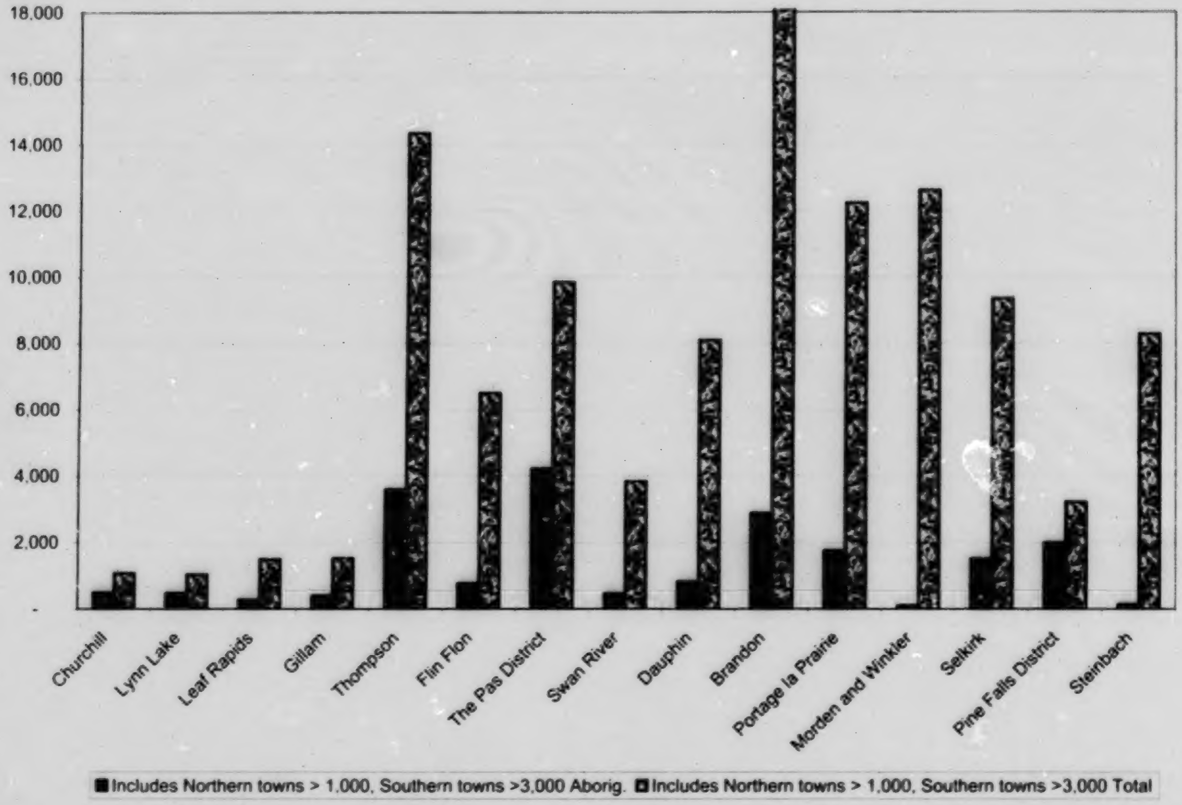
Aboriginal Population, Selected Manitoba Urban Municipalities, 1996 Census



Thompson and Brandon are the two centres with the greatest number of Status Indians residing within their municipal boundaries (2,460 and 1,790 respectively), followed by Portage la Prairie and The Pas. Status Indians make up about 17% of the population in Thompson, 15% in The Pas, 7% in Portage la Prairie, 6% in Selkirk, and between 4% and 5% in the other four centres. Interestingly, all of these centres have a higher proportion of Status Indians than Winnipeg (3.3%).

In total, 7,400 Status Indians reside in these eight municipalities, where a further 6,090 people indicate Aboriginal identity but are not registered under the Indian Act. These are almost entirely Metis-identity people. Metis outnumber Status Indians in Selkirk, Dauphin, Flin Flon and Swan River.

A different view of the urban distribution of Aboriginal people outside Winnipeg is provided in the following chart. Here, adjacent communities comprising a single urban geographical and economic unit are combined–i.e. Morden and Winkler; The Pas, Opaskwayak Cree Nation and Consol LDG (Carrot Valley); and Powerview, Pine Falls and Fort Alexander. The 40,000 total population of Brandon is truncated in this chart to better show the Aboriginal population in smaller urban centres:[8]



Populations above are for "towns" except as follows: data for Thompson and Brandon are "Census agglomerations." Data is available for Portage as a "Census metropolitan area," but because this includes a very large rural area, city data have been used. Gillam, Lynn Lake and Churchill are given as "Local Government Districts (LDG's)." Data for Pine Falls and The Pas are combined with immediately adjacent areas as described above.

From this perspective, the Aboriginal population in and around the town of The Pas actually exceeds that in and around Thompson–4,200 compared to 3,600 in raw numbers, and 42% compared to 25% as a proportion of the total population. The Aboriginal populations in these two centres are on a par with the larger reserve areas in the North, such as Island Lake, Norway House, Nelson House and Cross Lake. A number of other reserves also have larger Aboriginal populations than any urban areas in the north other than Thompson and The Pas.

In the south outside Winnipeg, Brandon has the largest urban Aboriginal population, at 2,885 or 7.2% of Brandon's total population. The Aboriginal demographic in Brandon is similar to Winnipeg, except that Brandon has a higher relative proportion of Status Indians while Winnipeg has a higher proportion of Metis. Portage la Prairie and Selkirk are the next largest urban Aboriginal communities in the south, followed by the Pine Falls area and Dauphin.

Aboriginal people comprise 14% of the population in Portage la Prairie and 16% in Selkirk–much larger proportions than other southern urban centres. Quite a number of southern towns contain very few Aboriginal people: Morden/Winkler (110 or 0.8%), Steinbach (150 or 1.8%), Neepawa (50 or 1.6%), Minnedosa (35 or 1.5%), Carman (80 or 3%), Beausejour (40 or 1.5%), and so forth.

TRENDS IN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

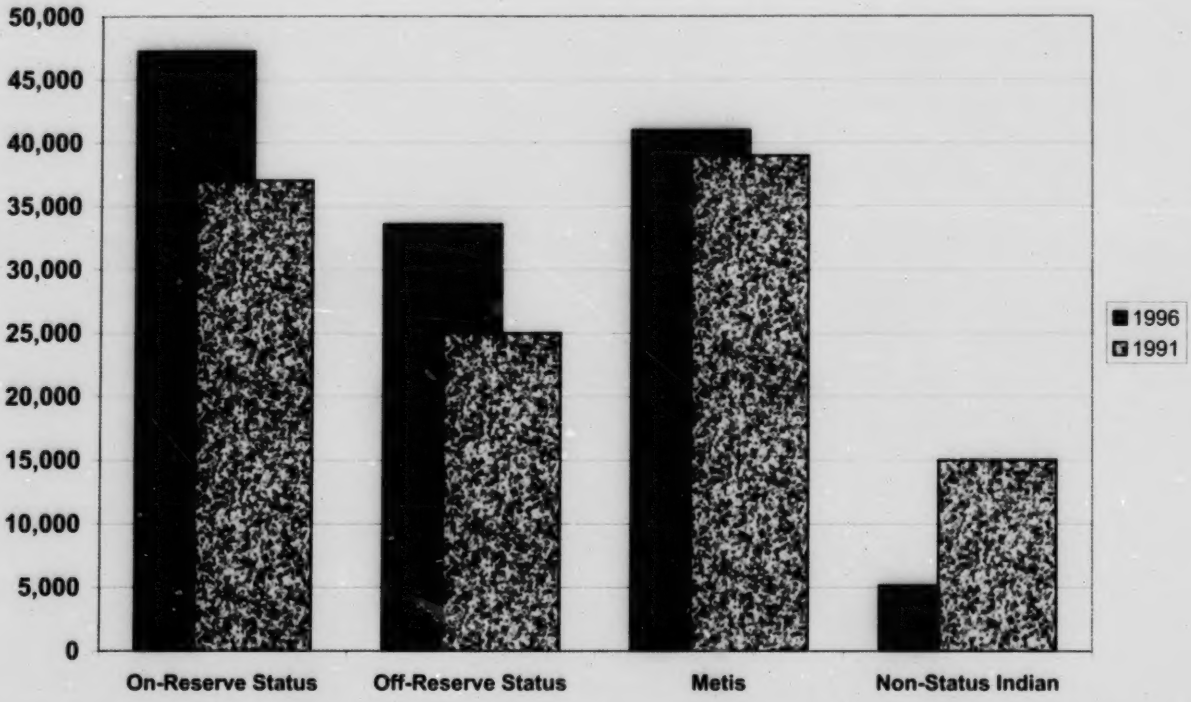
At the present time, it is problematic to use census data to analyze trends in population distribution, for a number of reasons: (1) the change in the census definition of "Aboriginal;" (2) apparent undercounting in 1991, which resulted in an average of 30% more people found on-reserve in 1996 than in 1991, and similar increases for Status Indians in other census districts;[9] and (3) increased efforts in the 1990s to register children under the Indian Act at an earlier age.

As an illustration of the data integrity issues, the 1996 Census found 45,750 of 128,910 Manitoba Aboriginal people residing in Winnipeg, or 35.5%. This compares to about one quarter in 1981, 33% in 1986, and 39% in 1991. Because of the definition change and more complete coverage on reserve, it cannot be assumed that there was an actual drop in Winnipeg's share of the Aboriginal population between 1991 and 1996. Rather, the trend is one of a steady growth over the past 20 years, which is now perhaps levelling off. This will, however, not be entirely clear until the Census of 2001 is released.

Similarly, 47,215 Indian Band/First Nation members were counted on-reserve in 1996 in Manitoba's 62 First Nations, comprising 58% of Status Indians in Manitoba. This was down from 78% in 1971, but up from 52% in the 1991 Aboriginal People's Survey. This seemed to indicate that a long-term trend of migration from rural to urban centres had reversed in the 1990s, but because of problems in the 1991 data, it did not prove it.

Bearing in mind the problems connected with comparing 1991 Aboriginal-origin data and 1996 Aboriginal-identity data, here are the Census numbers for each of the larger Aboriginal groups in Manitoba:

Manitoba Aboriginal Population by Group, 1991 and 1996 Census



Most strikingly, the non-Status population appears to have fallen from about 15,000 to about 5,000. This is partly to the change in definition (by which persons who reported Indian ancestry but did not self-identify as North American Indian were dropped from the 1996 count), and partly due to the effects of Bill C-31. Approximately 4,300 C-31 reinstatements of Status were processed between 1991 and 1996,[10] which now appear in the on and off-reserve Status numbers in an approximate 25/75% ratio.[11]

The Metis population apparently grew by 5%, which approximates the natural growth rate minus any minor effects of Bill C-31. There is no evidence that the Metis group is growing in Manitoba because of any increased propensity by individuals to self-identify as Metis — in fact there may be a small contrary trend. Rather, Metis counts are relatively stable (but see FOCUS: ABORIGINAL IDENTITY VERSUS ORIGIN/ETHNICITY).

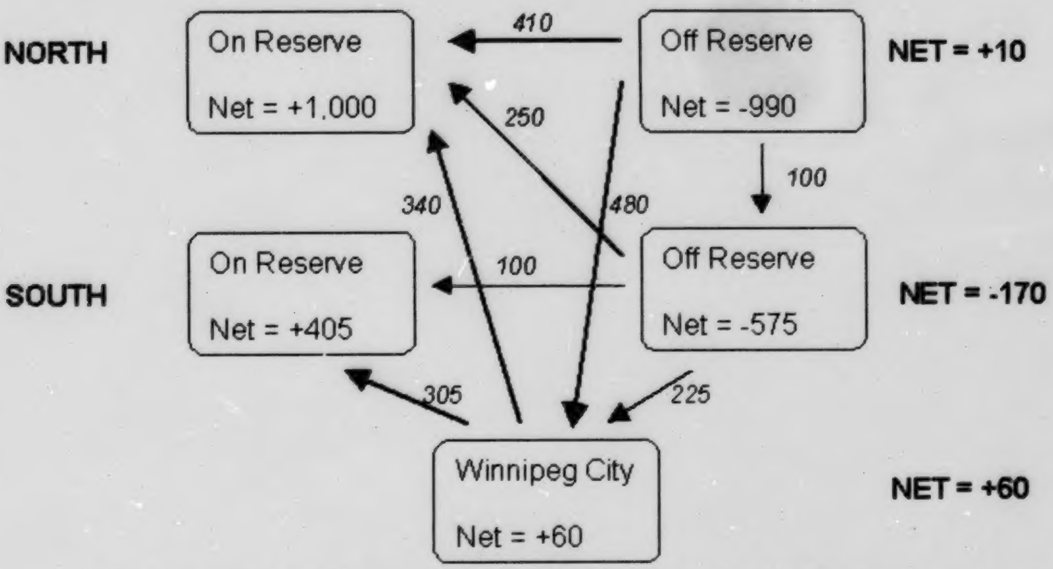
By contrast, the reserve Status population appears to have increased by 28% and the off-reserve by 34%. Over a five-year period, increases on this scale cannot be explained by natural growth, migration or the effects of C-31, and were clearly the result of undercounting in 1991 and/or more comprehensive Indian Act registration of young children. In other words, the 1991 Census significantly undercounted the Status Indian population, and much of the apparent growth in this population between 1991 and 1996 was artificial.[12]

The fact that the Manitoba Indian registry numbers on-reserve for this same period increased by "only" 19% in 1991-96 further supports this conclusion.

Because the earlier census data is suspect as a reflection of real Status (and non-Status) Indian populations, the best source of census data for analysis of recent distribution trends is the question on the 1996 Census which asked respondents where they lived five years earlier.

As seen in Figure 1 below, the period 1991-96 saw a net migration of 1,405 Status Indians to reserves, of whom 645 migrated from Winnipeg and 760 from other off-reserve locations. There was also a net migration of 705 Status Indians to Winnipeg from off-reserve locations. There was no significant trend between northern and southern Manitoba.

1991-96 NET INTRAPROVINCIAL MIGRATION OF STATUS INDIANS



Source: Unpublished Census material. Net migrations of under 25 persons not shown.

Winnipeg gained 60 Status Indians through intraprovincial migration in 1991 to 1996. However, if migrants to and from other provinces were included, there was a net outflow of some 200. The net outflow of Status Indians from Winnipeg to reserves was consistent with analyses on the national level, where there was a total net outflow from large urban centres of about 5,000 persons in 1991-96.[13]

As for the Metis, there was a net migration of 295 persons out of Winnipeg to other locations in Manitoba, of whom 200 moved to the north. So, on balance, Winnipeg actually lost several hundred First Nations and Metis people through migration in this period.[14] This apparently reversed trends seen since the 1950s.

Given this small but significant out-migration trend, it follows that any growth in Winnipeg's Aboriginal population during the 1990s has been the result of internal demographic trends, and that the growth of this population relative to Winnipeg's non-Aboriginal population was strictly a matter of a higher birth rate among Winnipeg's Aboriginal people. Because the rate of natural growth has been approximately two percent per year, some Winnipeg Aboriginal population projections, which have appeared in recent years, were exaggerated.[15]

A 1996 study of 1986-1991 Aboriginal migration patterns suggests why earlier in-migration trends may have reversed. Clatworthy *et al* found a net in-migration of 5,540 to census metropolitan areas nationally, much less than had been expected. There was also a net in-migration to reserves of 9,540, and a net migration from CMA's to reserves. Both CMA's and reserves received most of their in-migrants from rural areas and smaller urban centres.[16] There is only a limited Aboriginal population in these areas due to decades of rural depopulation. Therefore, at some point out-migration from large cities to reserves will cease to be compensated by in-migration from other off-reserve locations.

While the long-term population trend is not presently as clear as it has seemed in recent decades, there are indications of considerable "churn" in population patterns; for example, people moving back and forth between urban and reserve or rural areas. Later sections of this book dealing with specific socio-economic issues will highlight new and existing data regarding sections of the Aboriginal population who are relatively mobile or migratory.

INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION

There is a modest but longstanding trend of net Aboriginal out-migration from Manitoba to other provinces, but the effect on Manitoba Aboriginal demographics is negligible.

Aboriginal people in general migrate between provinces in about the same numbers as other Canadians. About 3% of Status and Metis residents of Manitoba in 1996 lived in another province five years earlier, compared to 4% of the total population. But Aboriginal people are more likely to later move back to their home province.

In 1996, 120,090 Aboriginal people residing in Manitoba were born in Manitoba, or 93.4%. Just 8,270 (6.4%) were born out of province and 260 (0.2%) outside Canada. By contrast, 13.4% of all Manitobans were born in other provinces, and a further 12.4% were born outside Canada.[17]

FOCUS: Bill C-31

1985 amendments to the Indian Act, commonly referred to as Bill C-31, have had a significant effect on Aboriginal demographics over the past 15 years. Intended primarily to eliminate gender discrimination in the Act, Bill C-31 contained three sets of provisions with the potential to affect First Nations and other Aboriginal populations.

Reinstatement of Indian Status

The provisions that have attracted the most attention are those enabling the reinstatement of registered Indian Status to individuals who lost or were not allowed Status through previous versions of the Act, usually women marrying non-Indians and children of these unions. The bulk of C-31 reinstatements occurred during 1986-1991, but there is no sunset on these amendments and small numbers of "C-31s" continue to be registered each year.

Across Canada, Bill C-31 has had its greatest effect on the Status population in Ontario, and relatively less effect in Manitoba and the other Prairie provinces. Still, in Manitoba there have been a total of 15,517 C-31 reinstatements, two thirds of which were processed in 1991 or earlier. Only 1,005 have been added between 1997-99. Of all the provinces, Manitoba has the highest proportion of C-31s residing on reserve—26% compared to the national average of 16% (and only 8% in Ontario). The vast majority of this group (over 90%) resided on reserve at the time of their registration. Therefore, the effect of Bill C-31 upon actual reserve populations has been minimal.

On the other hand, Bill C-31 reinstatement has had a major effect on the off-reserve Status Indian population. While C-31s in 1996 constituted 6% of Status Indians on reserve, off reserve they constituted fully one third. As virtually all C-31s are also members of individual First Nations, this has also meant that the off reserve component of many Bands' membership lists has increased significantly, even in the absence of any actual net migration to or from the reserve.

Status Inheritance Rules

The second set of provisions in Bill C-31 impacting Aboriginal demographics were new rules governing entitlement to Indian registration among children born to a registered Indian parent after April 17, 1985. These are called "status inheritance rules." Under the new rules, "registered Indian status is now determined at birth and cannot be lost or restored." A child is entitled to registration under sub-section 6(1) if both parents are or are entitled to be registered Indians, and under sub-section 6(2) if only one parent is entitled to be a registered Indian under 6(1). However, if one parent is non-Indian and the other is registered under 6(2), their child is not eligible for Indian Status.

Therefore, after two successive generations of out-marriage, children are not entitled to Indian registration. The effect of this provision to date has been small, but in the long term there will be a growing segment of the population having at least one registered Indian parent which is not eligible to be registered. The size of this group will depend upon rates of out-marriage, and will impact individual First Nations differently depending on their location and on/off reserve demographics.

In 1995, the estimated rate of out-marriage among on-reserve Status Indians in Manitoba was 26%, out-marriage being defined as "the probability of a child being born to an Indian/non-Indian parent combination." This rate has been relatively constant over the 1975-95 period. Assuming these children are correctly documented according to the logic of Bill C-31, this will mean about 75% of children of reserve Status Indians will be registered 6(1), over 20% under 6(2), with a small minority not eligible for registration.

Off-reserve, the rate of out-marriage has been much higher, estimated at 62.5% in Manitoba. As the generation born off-reserve after 1985 reaches its reproductive years, a diminishing minority of their children will be 6(1) eligible, and a significant and ever-increasing segment of the children will be non-registered. In this sense, the increase in the Status Indian population produced by Bill C-31 reinstatement is, taking the longer view, temporary. Already, between 17 April 1985 and 31 December 1995, an estimated 13,336 children nationally were born to registered Indian parents but were ineligible for registration. Of these, over 90% were born to registered Indians living off-reserve.

Band Membership Rules

The third set of Bill C-31 provisions affecting demographics are those providing individual First Nations the opportunity to establish their own band membership rules. By 1992, almost 40% of First Nations across Canada had established membership rules substantively different from Indian Act status inheritance rules. Of these, 15% had adopted some form of unlimited one-parent inheritance, which means band membership can rise rapidly and include persons not eligible for registration. Five percent had adopted some form of a blood quantum rule, where a person's eligibility for membership is determined by their "amount of Indian blood," usually set at 50%. Finally, 11% of First Nations had established restrictive two-parent inheritance rules, whereby a child is not eligible for membership unless both their parents are members of that band. Blood quantum rules and, to an even greater extent, two-parent rules may mean that as time goes on there will be a growing subclass of registered Indians, on and off-reserve, who are not eligible for membership in any specific First Nation.

Saskatchewan First Nations have been by far the most likely to adopt two parent rules at 24 bands or 35%, followed by the Atlantic region (19%) and British Columbia (12%). Blood quantum rules are more popular in Alberta (14%), Northern Canada (12%) and Ontario (11%). Manitoba First Nations, by contrast, are second only to Quebec bands in their likelihood to go with the Indian Act rules, thereby minimizing the disjuncture between Status and band membership. Of 60 Manitoba bands for whom information was available in 1992, 50 used Indian Act rules, two blood quantum, and eight unlimited one-parent rules.

Discussion based on Four Directions Consulting Group, "Implications of First Nations Demography," Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1997, pages 14-34.

FOCUS: ABORIGINAL IDENTITY VERSUS ORIGIN/ETHNICITY

Prior to 1996, users of Census materials were instructed to classify as Aboriginal any respondent indicating Aboriginal origins/ethnicity (in whole or in part) and/or Indian Act registration. In 1996 a new question was added to the Census that asked if respondents identified themselves as belonging to one of the three Aboriginal groups recognized by Canada's Constitution: i.e. (North American) Indians, Metis, and Inuit. Based on the new definition, respondents are counted as Aboriginal if they indicate Aboriginal identity and/or Indian Act registration.

Nationally in 1996, approximately 1.1 million people indicated Aboriginal origins, either as a single response or part of a multiple response to the census ethnicity question. But only 800,000 indicated that they identified with an Aboriginal group. Following release of the 1996 Census, the federal department of Human Resources Development commissioned an analysis of the characteristics of the 300,000 census respondents who indicated (partial) Aboriginal origins but not identity.

Statistics Canada reported that this group, which is concentrated outside the Prairie provinces and especially in large urban centres like Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal, differed substantially from the 800,000 Aboriginal identity population. In fact, in terms of education, employment and income, they were on average better off not only than the Aboriginal identity population but also than the average Canadian.[18]

This group was included in the Aboriginal Census population in 1991 and before—often as "non-Status Indians," although they did not identify themselves as such. This distorted Census results, leaving researchers and policy makers with the impression that Aboriginal people were on average better educated, more likely to be employed and had higher incomes than was in fact the case.

In 1996, 19,095 people in Manitoba indicated Aboriginal ancestry but not identity. In 95% of cases they indicated Aboriginal as part of a multiple response and, in 5% of cases, indicated Metis or North American Indian as a single response. However, the difference between Manitoba Aboriginal counts using the two definitions was only 13,000, not 19,000.[19]

Much attention has been paid to the exclusion of the non-identity group from the Aboriginal population, as defined by Statistics Canada. But there is another aspect that has attracted little attention. Use of the ethnicity question appears to have excluded from previous Aboriginal counts a substantial group of people not registered under the Indian Act but reporting Metis or North American Indian identity.

This is probably due to how "complicated" the ethnicity question is and the different ways that people understand the question when filling out their Census forms. It may be that people are filling in a single origin response when a multiple response would be more appropriate, or it may simply be that the origin/ethnicity question is particularly unclear to people of mixed ancestry or people in multi-ethnic families. Statistics Canada, obviously unsatisfied with its clarity, has changed the wording of this question in each of the past four censuses.

In Manitoba, about 45,000 people indicated Metis identity in 1996 (including registered Indians who indicated Metis identity). Of these, most also indicated Metis as either a single response or part of a multiple response to the ethnicity question. However, about 40% gave a single response to the ethnicity question and in 6,070 cases (13%) the single response given was something other than "Metis."[20] Under pre-1996 Census definitions, these 6,070 Metis-identity people would not have been counted as Metis.

Of these, 2,985 were located in Winnipeg and 3,085 outside: 1,860 wrote in "Canadian" as a single origin/ethnicity response in 1996. No one knew exactly how to interpret the "Canadian" response, though these people would not have been tabulated as Metis, or even Aboriginal, on earlier censuses had they responded in this way. Similarly, 1,020 Metis-identity people gave "French" as a single response, and 615 gave "English." They also would not have been considered Metis or Aboriginal by previous censuses regardless of their actual ancestry.[21]

A further 2,155 Metis-identity people wrote in a "North American Indian" nationality as their sole response, many in the north but also 880 in Winnipeg. On earlier censuses, these people would have been considered either Status or non-Status Indians, not Metis.

The 1996 change from ancestry to identity as the basis for Aboriginal counts excluded significant numbers of people previously considered Aboriginal. Also, it included for the first time significant numbers that were previously not considered Aboriginal, while some were ascribed to the wrong Aboriginal group. This included non-Status Indians as well as Metis.

The 1996 Census population consists of those persons who consider themselves to be Aboriginal. Earlier versions consisted of those persons considered by Statistics Canada to be Aboriginal. The Aboriginal populations captured by the 1991 and 1996 Censuses are, to a significant degree, two different populations, with close to 25,000 Manitobans having been reclassified from Aboriginal to non-Aboriginal or vice versa.

ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES IN MANITOBA[22]

Although spoken most by elders and least by the young, use of Aboriginal languages continues to be prevalent. However, mother tongue (first language learned and still understood) and home language (the language used most frequently in the home) vary among the Aboriginal groups and across the regions of Manitoba.

For all Aboriginal people in Manitoba, English is the most common mother tongue (65%), followed by Cree (18%), Ojibway (8%) and French (4%). Languages most frequently spoken in the home are English (76%), Cree (13%), and Ojibway (4%).

Among the North American Indian identity population, English is the mother tongue of 55% and the home language of 66%. Cree is the mother tongue of 28% and the home language of 20%.

A distinct north/south split is in evidence in language use for North American Indians. In the north, Cree is the mother tongue of 20,255 census respondents, just under 50% of the population, while English is the mother tongue of 17,090. However, English is slightly more likely to be spoken in the home than an Aboriginal language – 21,390 English, as compared to 15,770 Cree, 2,260 Ojibway, and 1,140 other languages (e.g. Dene).

By contrast, English is the mother tongue of over 75% of the population in all southern areas, and is the home language of approximately 90% of the southern Indian population. Ojibway is the second most commonly used language, except in Winnipeg where Cree is more commonly used in the home (550 persons versus 375 Ojibway-speakers). English is the home language of 95% of North American Indians living in Winnipeg.

Some evidence for the vitality of Aboriginal languages on reserve is provided by the 1998 Manitoba First Nations Regional Health Survey. Fully 55% of respondents, most of whom were 25-44 years of age, indicated they were more comfortable using an Aboriginal language in day to day conversations. Fully 74% felt there had been progress over the past few years in promoting the use of Aboriginal languages.

It should be recognized that many more Aboriginal people understand Aboriginal languages than are able to carry on a conversation in those languages or use an Aboriginal language in the home. Therefore, the potential market for Aboriginal language programming exceeds what would be expected from statistics on mother tongue and home language. For example, the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey found that, among the Metis, 60% of those who could speak an Aboriginal language watched native-language television "... but so did 32% of those who could not."[23] Undoubtedly this applies to an even greater degree among North American Indians.

Among the Metis in Manitoba, English is the mother tongue of 83% and the home language of 94%. French is the second most reported mother tongue at 11% but only 3.5%, or 1,600 persons reported French as the language most commonly used in the home. Four percent of Metis reported Cree or Ojibway as their mother tongue, while less than 2% reported use of these languages in the home. Very few Metis reported Michif as either mother tongue or home language. However, some French Cree language specialists maintain that Metis people who indicated use of French or Cree are actually speaking Michif variants or dialects.

Although English usage is dominant among Metis throughout Manitoba, there are regional variations. On one extreme, 21,890 or 97% of Metis in Winnipeg speak English at home, compared to 610 speaking French and just 100 speaking other languages. French is most common in the southeast area of the province outside Winnipeg, where it is the mother tongue of 39% of Metis (1,335) and the home language of 18% (625). Elsewhere, French is rarely heard. There are 165 Metis speaking French at home in the Interlake, 140 in the north/central area, 35 in the Parklands and just 10 in northern Manitoba. 690 Metis in northern Manitoba speak an Aboriginal language at home.

AGE DISTRIBUTION IN MANITOBA

The Aboriginal population in Manitoba is considerably younger than the total population. For example, 37.7% of Aboriginal people are under the age of 15, as compared to just 20.1% of the non-Aboriginal population. Also, 64.5% of Aboriginal people are under 30, compared to 40% of the non-Aboriginal population. On the other hand, only 3.3% of Aboriginal people are 65 or older, compared to 14.2% of non-Aboriginal people.

The age distribution of the Aboriginal population has important consequences for the demands for certain social services, now and in the future. Most obvious, close to one third of Aboriginal people are in the primary and secondary school age population, compared to less than one fifth of non-Aboriginal people. There is also greater potential demand for post-secondary education and vocational training, a demand that will increase dramatically as the large cohort of Aboriginal children aged 14 and under grows into the working age population. Finally, the labour market will need to absorb increasing numbers of Aboriginal youth over the next few decades, or social institutions will need to cope with the consequences of a failure to absorb these youth into the labour market.

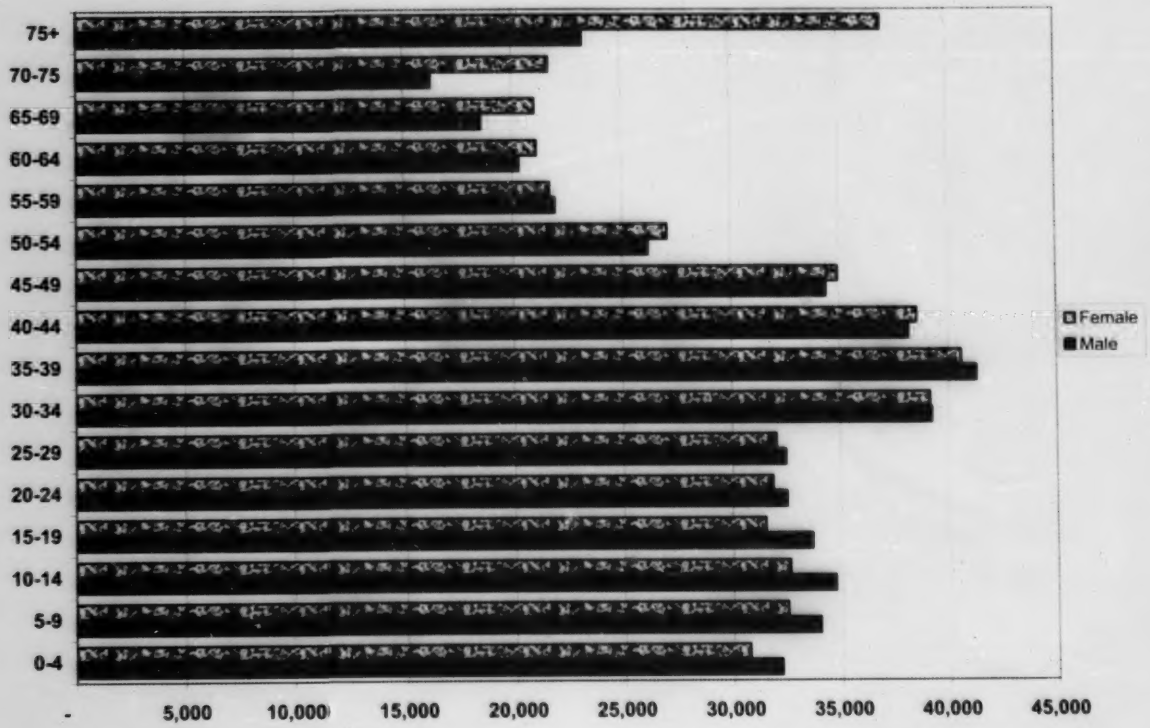
While 11.7% of Manitobans of all age groups are Aboriginal, 20% of children aged 14 and under are Aboriginal. In many school districts in the north and in several school catchment areas in central Winnipeg, a majority of school age children are Aboriginal, even where Aboriginal people are a minority overall.

Approximately 40% of school age Aboriginal people live on reserve, where funding is provided through the federal Department of Indian Affairs. Education for the remaining 60% is provincially and municipally funded. In off-reserve and urban settings, about one half of Aboriginal school age children are Status and one half are Metis, Non-Status or Inuit.

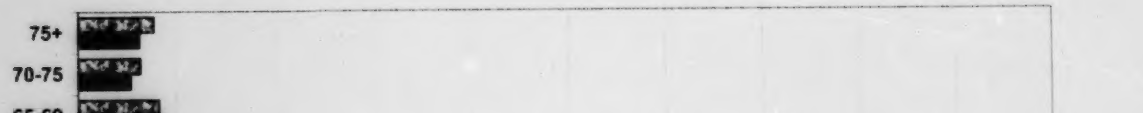
Since one fifth of Manitoba children aged 14 and under in 1996 were Aboriginal, it follows that one in five persons reaching working age in 2000-2015 will be Aboriginal. The percentage will rise each year. Some estimates are as high as one in three or four by 2015.

The age structure of the Aboriginal population has a number of important independent effects on the socioeconomic conditions faced by Aboriginal people. Only 32% of Aboriginal people are in their prime earning years (age 30-65), compared to 46% of non-Aboriginal people. These 32% are outnumbered by the children aged 14 and under that they support, whereas non-Aboriginal people in this age group outnumber the children aged 14 and under more than two to one. Larger Aboriginal families mean that even if Aboriginal workers had employment prospects and incomes equivalent

Age Distribution, Manitoba Non-Aboriginal Population, 1996



Age Distribution, Manitoba Aboriginal Identity Population, 1996



to non-Aboriginal workers, their standards of living would still be lower and their housing more crowded.

There are differences in the age structure of the different Aboriginal groups. 31.3% of Metis-identity people are aged 14 and under, compared to 40.7% of Status Indians and 41.9% of non-Status Indians. By the same token, many more Metis people are in the age 30-65 group: 37.5%, compared to 29.7% of Status Indians and 27.9% of non-Status Indians. In age distribution, as in many socioeconomic variables, Metis occupy a middle position between Status Indians and the non-Aboriginal population.

There is little difference in the age structure of Status populations on or off-reserve. In both settings, 40.7% of the population is aged 0-14. Off-reserve, there are slightly more people aged 30-65, and therefore slightly fewer people aged 15-29 or 65 plus. This is not so much the result of working age people seeking employment off-reserve, as it is due to disproportionate numbers of adult women living off-reserve. 27.2% of Status women living off-reserve are aged 30-49, as compared to 21.4% of Status women on reserves in this age category. The proportions of males in this age group living on and off reserves are identical.

FERTILITY AND BIRTH RATES IN MANITOBA

It is often said that Aboriginal people are now experiencing a "baby boom" similar to the post-war experience of the general population. This is not at all true. The original baby boom originated in a sharp spike in fertility rates (number of births per woman) following the period of depressed fertility during the Depression and Second World War. This produced a demographic bulge of persons, born in 1946 to 1964, who distinctly outnumbered older and younger age cohorts. Because of their numbers, these "baby boomers" became the fashion trendsetters of their age. Demographically, their outstanding fashion statement was the fact that they themselves had relatively few children, resulting in the "baby bust" of subsequent decades.

The current "population explosion" of Aboriginal children, by contrast, occurs in the context of sharply declining fertility rates among Aboriginal women. Recent analyses of historical trends based on Indian Register data[24] have indicated average national fertility rates for First Nations women have declined from 5.7 births in 1970, to 4.1 in 1975, to 3.4 in 1980, to 3.2 in 1985, to 2.7 in 1990 and 2.55 in 1995.

The fertility rate for Status Indians remains 50% higher than for the general population (1.8 births per woman) and the decline in the fertility rate has been more than offset by increases in the numbers of women in their young child bearing years. This has not resulted in a demographic bulge, but in a birth rate (births per 1,000 population per year) that has stabilized at almost twice that of the non-Aboriginal population. The large numbers of young children, aging into their reproductive years, guarantees that Aboriginal birth rates will remain extremely high in Manitoba for several decades to come, regardless of declining fertility rates.

The three Prairie provinces have the highest fertility rates for First Nations women in the country. This combined with a generally younger age profile, means that birth rates in the Prairies for Status Indians will remain well over the national average, and that the Prairie provinces' share of the national First Nations population will continue to increase. On the other hand, the increase in the total Aboriginal population will be slowed by the lower birth rate among the Metis, who are also concentrated in the Prairie provinces.

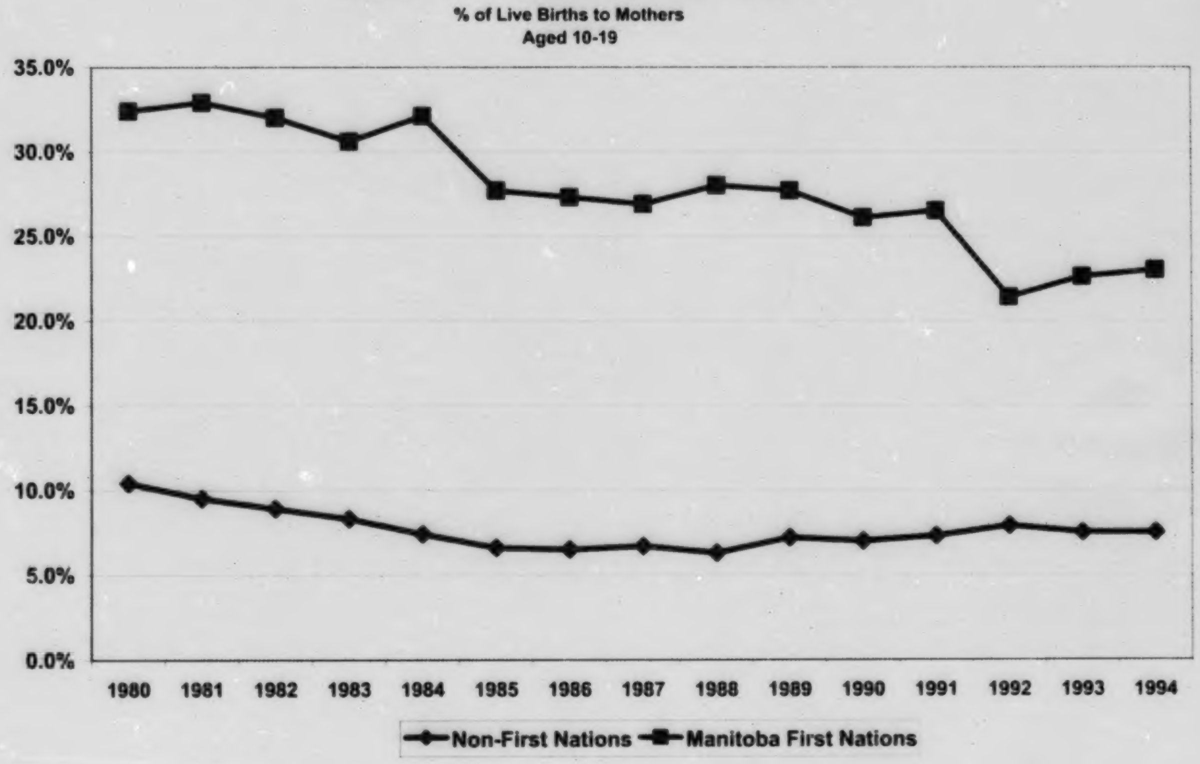
TEEN PREGNANCY

Manitoba has the highest rate of teen pregnancy in Canada. But rates vary dramatically within Manitoba and are much higher than average for Status Indians and Metis. 45% of unmarried adolescent mothers in Manitoba are Aboriginal, with proportions as high as 75% in the northern Norman/Thompson region and 70% in central Winnipeg.[25]

Between 1980 and 1994, the teen birth rate for on and off-reserve Status Indians in Manitoba dropped from 32.4% of live births to 23.0%. The teen birth rate for the non-First Nation population also fell, from 10.4% to 7.5%. Therefore, the gap has not narrowed significantly and the First Nations teen birth rate remains approximately three times the level for the rest of the population. This fact, more than any other, explains the maintenance of high birth rates in the face of sharp declines in fertility rates for First Nations women. Aboriginal generations are closer together in age.

Over 23% of all births in the First Nations population between 1990 and 1994 were to teen mothers less than 20 years of age. 90% of these teen births were to women who were single. Manitoba Family Services and Housing estimates that approximately 90% of adolescent women who carry their pregnancies to term are keeping their babies. Therefore almost 20% of First Nations children are currently born into the homes of single parents less than 20 years of age.

TEEN BIRTHS IN MANITOBA 1980-1994



Teen parenthood is associated with low income status. The Ontario Health Survey found that 18% of women aged 16-19 from low income families had been pregnant in the past five years, compared to 4% of young women from higher income families. The Canadian Council on Social Development summed it up in this way:

> Young women giving birth in their teens represent a significant risk to their babies and to their own life chances. They often do not have the necessary resources–especially financial resources–to provide a secure and stable environment for their children. And having children while still a teen interrupts the young woman's own development. Young mothers often drop out of school to care for their babies, thus limiting their future options in the labour market. ...Poor teen mothers have poor children and the cycle continues.[26]

CHAPTER TWO: HEALTH

The federal government supports the provision of most services on-reserve, though these are increasingly devolved to band administration. Federal-funded programs include child and family services, housing, health, education, policing, fire protection, recreation, programs for drug, alcohol and substance abuse, care for seniors, and municipal infrastructure such as sewer and water, administration and recreation buildings. The federal government also supports the cost of post-secondary education and extended health benefits under the Non-Insured Health Benefits Program (NIHB) for Status Indians including off-reserve. Metis and Non-Status people are ineligible for this program.

The Provincial government provides health services to all Aboriginal people as it does for Manitobans in general.

The Medical Services Branch of the department of Health Canada administers federal health programs for registered Indians and maintains a database that, in Manitoba, includes both on and off-reserve Indians. In combination with the Indian Registry list maintained by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, these data provide a wealth of information available for research on First Nations health issues. In comparison, there is little data-based research on health issues for other Aboriginal groups in Manitoba, including Metis and non-Status Indians.

MORTALITY

Life expectancy of Aboriginal people nationally continues to lag behind the population at large by 8 years for males and 6.7 years for females. This gap varies widely among Aboriginal groups. On-reserve the gap is more than 10 years while among urban Aboriginal people it is less than two years. On-reserve, the 1990 life expectancy at birth was 62 years for males and 69.6 years for females. For Status Indians in urban areas it was 72 and 79 years respectively, compared to 73.9 and 80.7 for the total population.

The First Nations death rate is lower than for non-First Nations people and has been lower for at least 20 years. The comparatively low death rate is the result of the First Nations' younger age structure. The risk of mortality generally increases with age. Only 19% of the First Nations population is 40 years or older, compared with 44% of the Non-Aboriginal population. For age 65 or older, the figures are 3% for Status Indians and 14% for non-Aboriginal people.

Therefore, age-standardized mortality rates must be used to make meaningful comparisons between First Nations and other populations:

> 1n 1993, the [national] mortality rate of First Nations, age-standardized to the 1991 Canadian population, was 10.8 deaths per 1000 population, 1.6 times the Canadian rate of 6.9. In 1979, the difference was 1.5 times. Where the Canadian rate is steadily declining, the First Nations rate has fluctuated yearly, making interpretation of trends difficult. However, it is clear that the gap in mortality is not closing.[1]

The relative mortality risk for First Nations people varies by age group. The greatest disparities are in the one to four-year-old group, where, in 1993, the First Nations mortality rate was four times the

Canadian average. This is followed by age groups 15-39 (three times), and 5-15 (two and a half times). Generally, the relative mortality risk decreases with age until by the age of 65 and over it approaches the non-Aboriginal risk level. Relatively few First Nations people are in that age group.

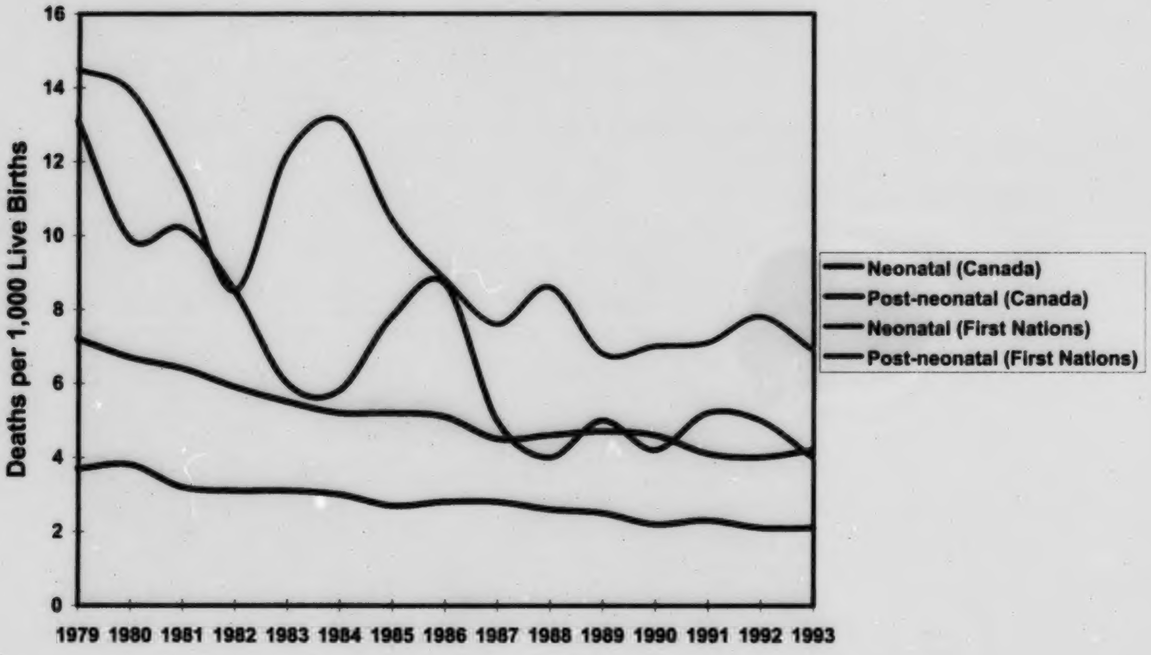
INFANT MORTALITY

Infant mortality rates are often broken down into two smaller time intervals: neonatal (birth to 28 days) and post-neonatal (28 days to one year). Health Canada notes:

> Neonatal mortality rates in general tend to reflect access to services and quality of health care, as well as events during the prenatal period and during and immediately after labour. In contrast, the post-neonatal rate tends to be more sensitive to socio-economic and environmental factors that may influence the survival of infants.[2]

Nationally, the rate of neonatal death among First Nations has decreased markedly since 1979 and is now close to the national average. By contrast, the First Nations post-neonatal mortality rate, while it has shown some improvement, remains about triple the national rate:

National Infant Mortality Rates: Canadian and First Nations Populations, 1979-1993



Significantly, the post-neonatal mortality rate for Canadians in general is lower than the neonatal rate, meaning most infant deaths occur before 28 days. For First Nations, most infant deaths occur after 28 days, when infants and their mothers have left the urban hospital and re-entered the home community and the home. The degree to which the increased infant mortality rate after 28 days is due to access to health services in often-isolated home communities, or to conditions in the home, is not known.

INJURY AND POISONING

The leading causes of mortality of First Nations people nationally in 1991-93 were injury and poisoning (154 per 100,000 annually) and circulatory diseases (135), followed by cancer (76) and respiratory disease (43). Heart disease and cancer, in particular, are associated with increasing age. However, for First Nations people from one to 45 years of age, injury and poisoning are by far the main causes of death. The injury and poisoning death rate for First Nations is 3.8 times the national rate, and there has been little change in this ratio since the mid-1980s.

The medical category "Injury and Poisoning" essentially includes all causes of death besides illness. Nationally, it accounted for an estimated 55% of 25,795 "Potential Years of Life Lost" (PYLL)[3] among First Nations people in 1993. First Nations overall injury/poisoning rates are generally higher the farther west one goes; that is, they are proportionately higher in Ontario than Quebec, in Manitoba than Ontario, in Saskatchewan than Manitoba, in Alberta than Saskatchewan, and in British Columbia than Alberta.

Motor vehicle accidents and suicides are the main causes of death by injury and poisoning in Manitoba, as in all provinces. Causes of death also included in this category are: accidental poisoning and overdoses, drowning, fire, homicide, and "other" (e.g., suffocation, exposure, falls, firearms, industrial accidents and aircraft crashes).

Omitting for analytical purposes unclassified other deaths, Manitoba First Nations experience relatively fewer motor vehicle and suicide deaths than many Health Canada regions, though these are still the predominant causes of death. Generally, motor vehicle deaths predominate west of Manitoba, suicides east of Manitoba, and accidental poisoning/overdose deaths occur in significant frequency only in Alberta, British Columbia and the Territories.

In Manitoba the First Nations rate of death by homicide in 1989-93 was twice the national rate and much higher than in any other region, with Saskatchewan a distant second. The Manitoba rate of death by drowning was also high, second only to Ontario. Geography can explain the pattern of drowning deaths, but the First Nations homicide rate in Manitoba is very striking and not easily explained.

In a 1998 study done by the Winnipeg Free Press of 158 homicides committed in Manitoba from 1992 to 1996, fully 60% of the victims were found to be Aboriginal, including 73% of victims in rural Manitoba. The homicide risk for Aboriginal Manitobans was calculated to be 30 times that of the population as a whole.

% CLASSIFIABLE DEATHS BY INJURY/POISONING, STATUS INDIANS 1989-93

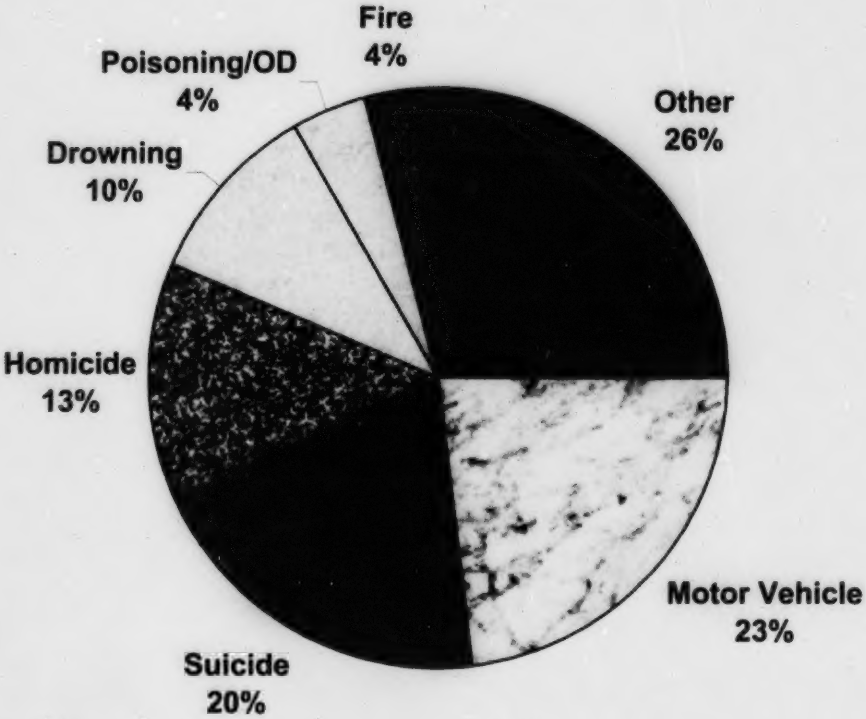
	Atlantic	PQ	ON	MB	SK	AL	Pacific	Yukon
Motor Vehicle	28	33	28	31	34	37	36	29
Suicide	44	35	31	27	29	29	25	21
Poisoning/OD	3	5	5	6	6	15	17	35
Drowning	7	14	19	14	6	5	8	4
Homicide	11	4	6	18	13	9	8	2
Fire	7	8	11	6	11	6	6	8

Derived from Health Canada, "Trends in First Nations Mortality," p. 56

Nationally, Status Indian deaths due to injury and poisonings are more than twice as common among men as among women (1,367 compared to 579 in 1991 - 93). Of these deaths, suicides claimed 26% of men compared to 21% of women, giving men a rate of suicide three times that of women. Men were far more likely to die of each and all injury/poisoning causes, except accidental poisoning/overdoses, for which male/female rates were about equal.

However, Health Canada reports an overall decrease in First Nations injury and poisoning rates, "accounting for more than 60% of all deaths averted in 1989-1993 when compared to 1989 - 1993 rates. Not coincidentally, the 25-44 year old population is the group in which the largest number of deaths were averted. Suicide and overdoses are the only causes of injury and poisoning deaths not showing substantial improvements."[4]

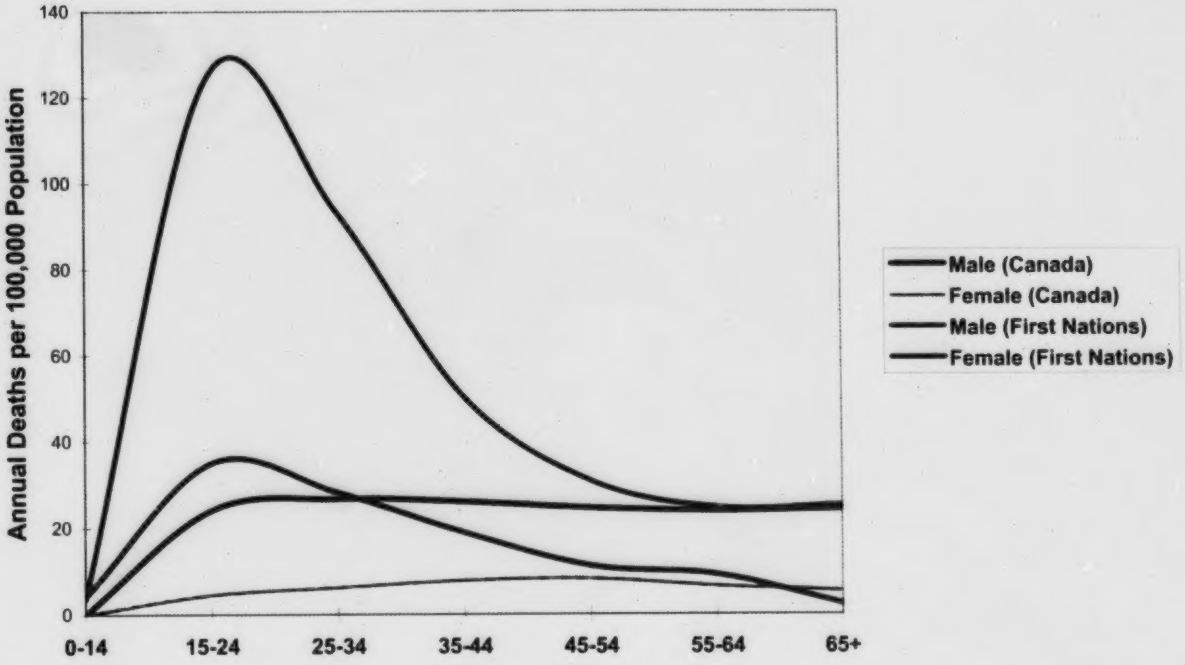
Manitoba First Nations Deaths by Injury & Poisoning, 1989-1993



SUICIDE

National First Nations suicide rates have remained fairly constant since 1980. Suicide rates differ between First Nations and non-First Nations populations more than any other cause of death. The differences are most extreme in the younger age groups, and decline sharply in older age groups. By age 60 and over there is no significant difference. However, as we have noted, there are few First Nations people in this older age group.

National Suicide Rates, Canadian and First Nations Populations, 1989-93



Suicide is endemic among First Nations youth, especially males. By contrast, non-Aboriginal youth are no more likely to commit suicide than any other age group.

Nationally in 1989-93, the death rate by suicide for male youth aged 15-24 was 126 per 100,000 annually, a rate more than five times the national rate for all males in this age group. The comparable rate for First Nations females was 35/100,000, far less than among First Nations men, but over seven times the national rate for females of this age.

A special report on suicide produced for the 1996 Canadian Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) linked youth suicide, mental illness, and drug and alcohol abuse to cultural alienation or stress. This is caused by:

> ...loss of identity, loss of control over living conditions, restricted economic opportunity, suppression of beliefs and spirituality, weakening of social institutions, displacement of political institutions, pervasive breakdown of cultural values and diminished esteem, discrimination and institutional racism and their internalized effects, and voluntary or involuntary adoption of elements of an external culture and loss of identity.[5]

Since 1980, First Nations suicide rates have increased by 45% among children aged 14 and under, an age group for whom suicide is virtually unrecorded among non-Aboriginal Canadians.

Hangings remain the most commonly reported suicide method for ages 15-24 and 25-44, though firearms are increasingly used for ages 15-24, and both firearms and drug overdoses for ages 25-44. Firearms are more frequently used by males, and drug overdoses by females. Among all First Nations suicides reported in Manitoba from 1989-93, 58% were by hanging, 29% by firearms, 8% by drug overdose, and 6% by other means.

MORBIDITY

Nationally, the leading causes of death for First Nations people, besides injury and poisoning, are diseases of the circulatory and respiratory systems, ranked second and fourth respectively, and neoplasms (cancer), rated third. These rankings have remained the same since the late 1970's. Death rates for circulatory and respiratory diseases have declined moderately during this time period (by 11.1% and 6.5% respectively), but have remained above Canadian rates.

Cancer rates for First Nations people have generally been less than national averages, but are increasing. "The neoplasm death rate in First Nations at 182 deaths per 100,000 (in 1993) is approaching the Canadian rate of 193 deaths per 100,000. From 1984-1988, the Canadian rate was 1.4 times higher."[6]

As noted, mortality by age-related causes has been kept down by the relatively young Aboriginal population. However, with the age 65 and over group expected to double to seven percent of the Aboriginal population by 2015, the prevalence of these diseases will also rise, as will the associated health care costs. This is especially true where incidence rates are also increasing, as in the case of some cancers and, especially, diabetes.

DIABETES

Diabetes is "a chronic disease with a multifactorial aetiology. To date, epidemiological evidence of varying consistency has implicated heredity, obesity, physical activity, diet, and metabolic factors as risk factors." Apparently unknown in the Aboriginal community before World War II, diabetes has been recognized as a serious emerging health problem since the 1970's, and has now reached epidemic proportions.

Diabetes in Aboriginal people is largely Type 2, also known as non-insulin-dependent or adult onset diabetes. Complications associated with diabetes can include kidney failure, cardiovascular disease, blindness, lower limb amputation, increased susceptibility to infection, and increased risk of tuberculosis reactivation.

First Nations men are currently twice as likely to die from diabetes complications as their non-Aboriginal counterparts, and First Nations women four times as likely.[7]

In Manitoba, diabetes incidence and prevalence rates for Status Indians are about three times as high as for the total population. As of March 31, 1994, there were a total of 3,704 cases among Status persons aged 25 and over in Manitoba, with 340 new cases recorded in the previous year. Status Indians were likely to develop diabetes at an earlier age, and within each age group, women were far more likely than men to be diabetic. Over 40% of Status women aged 55 and over are diabetic, and over 25% of men.[8]

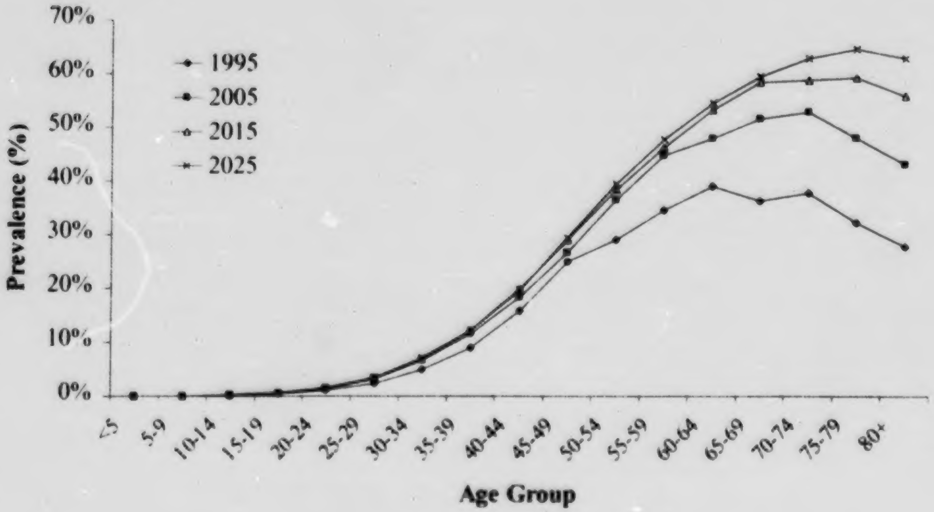
A disturbing recent trend has been the diagnosis of Type 2 diabetes in Status children under age 14. By 1997, 58 cases had been reported in Manitoba, mostly among girls. An unknown number of cases have gone undetected or misdiagnosed, leading to increased chances of complications in the future.[9] Type 2 diabetes is a new disease among children, unrecorded before about 1980.

The prevalence of diabetes is expected to continue to increase in the Manitoba population, and more rapidly in the Aboriginal population. This will contribute to steeply escalating health care costs. In 1995, the cost of diabetes and its complications to the Manitoba health care system was estimated to be $193 million/year, or fully 18% of the total health care budget.[10] Data from a 1998 Manitoba Health report "Forecasting the Coming Storm" indicates a cost increase in constant 1995 dollars on the order of 130% over 30 years for all Manitobans, and a staggering 330% for Status Indians.[11]

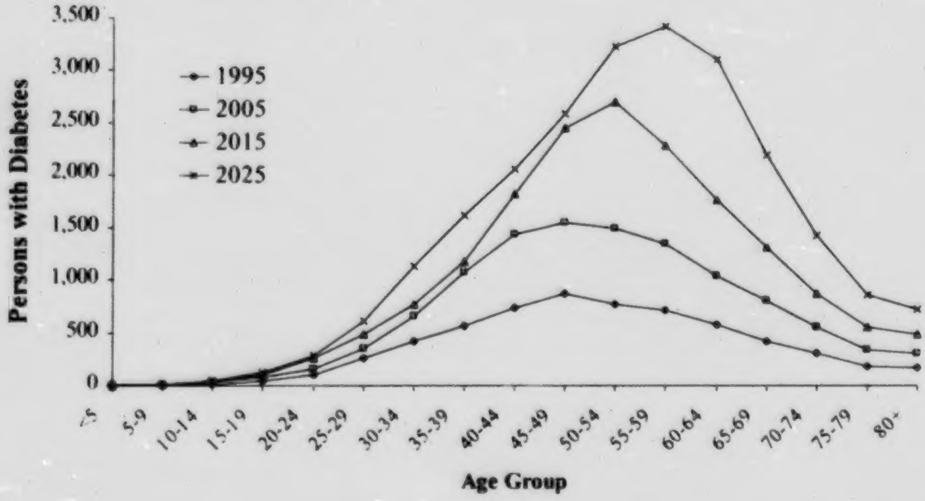
The prevalence of diabetes among older Status people is projected to increase sharply in 1995-2005 and 2005-15, to rates of 50% to 60% for ages 60 and over. The growing burden of the disease, however, will be in the form of accumulating numbers of middle-aged and younger diabetics, because of earlier relative onset and the younger age structure of the First Nations population. The total number of Status Indian diabetics is projected to rise to approximately 15,000 by 2015 and 20,000 by 2025.[12]

However, there is some evidence that public education programs explaining the relationship between diet and health problems such as diabetes are having an effect. In the 1997 Manitoba First Nations Regional Health Survey, 42% of the on-reserve respondents indicated that they had made "major" positive dietary changes such as eating less salt, less fat, less sugar, and more fruit and vegetables. Another 33% had made moderate changes to their diet, leaving only 25% reporting little change.[13] This is particularly remarkable given that nutritious store-bought food is usually expensive and often inaccessible in northern communities.

Age-specific Prevalence of Diabetes, Status Indians: 1995, 2005, 2015, 2025



Age Distribution of Manitoba Status Persons with Diabetes, 1995 to 2025



Source: J.F. Blanchard et al, "Forecasting the Coming Storm", September 1998.

CARDIOVASCULAR DISEASE

High blood pressure also appears to be a serious and growing problem among the Aboriginal community. Of on-reserve respondents in the 1997 Manitoba First Nations Regional Health Survey, 24% reported that a physician had told them that they had high blood pressure. This is higher than the national First Nations/Inuit rate of 19%, and higher still than the results reported from the 1991 Aboriginal People's Survey at 14%. Seventy per cent of respondents had had their blood pressure checked within the past year.[14]

Hypertension occurs frequently in individuals with diabetes and co-morbidity between these two conditions leads to sharply increased risk of heart disease. A study released in June 2000 found that heart disease hospitalizations among on-reserve people in northern Ontario had more than doubled from 76 per 10,000 hospital admissions in 1984 to 186 per 10,000 in 1995. The researchers linked the increase entirely to increased diabetes rates. Among Aboriginal people in Manitoba, 60% of hospitalizations for heart disease involve patients with diabetes.[15]

HUMAN IMMUNODEFICIENCY VIRUS/ACQUIRED IMMUNE DEFICIENCY SYNDROME

Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) disease "is a preventable, chronic and progressive condition, of which Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) is the final phase. AIDS is characterized by the appearance of opportunistic infections and other life-threatening conditions that take advantage of an immune system weakened by HIV. HIV is transmitted primarily by unprotected sexual intercourse and shared needles and/or syringes."[16] From 1985, when a test to identify antibodies to the HIV virus was first developed, to June 1997, 588 Manitobans were known to have been infected by HIV, of whom 116 had died.[17] The real numbers of HIV carriers is unknown as the disease is asymptomatic in its early stages.

Aboriginal people are over-represented in groups at high risk for HIV infection, including intravenous drug users, sex trade workers, and inmates. A 1999 report indicated that 30% of recent HIV cases in Manitoba are Aboriginal, and that this proportion is increasing. Similar statistics have been reported in Saskatchewan (30%), Alberta (26%) and British Columbia (15%).[18]

National figures complied by the Laboratory Centre for Disease Control suggest that injection drug use accounts for a higher proportion of HIV infection in Aboriginal people than in the general population: 18% versus 3% for men, and 54% versus 17% for women. Women account for higher numbers of HIV cases among the Aboriginal population, 15% versus 7.0% among non-Aboriginal cases.[19]

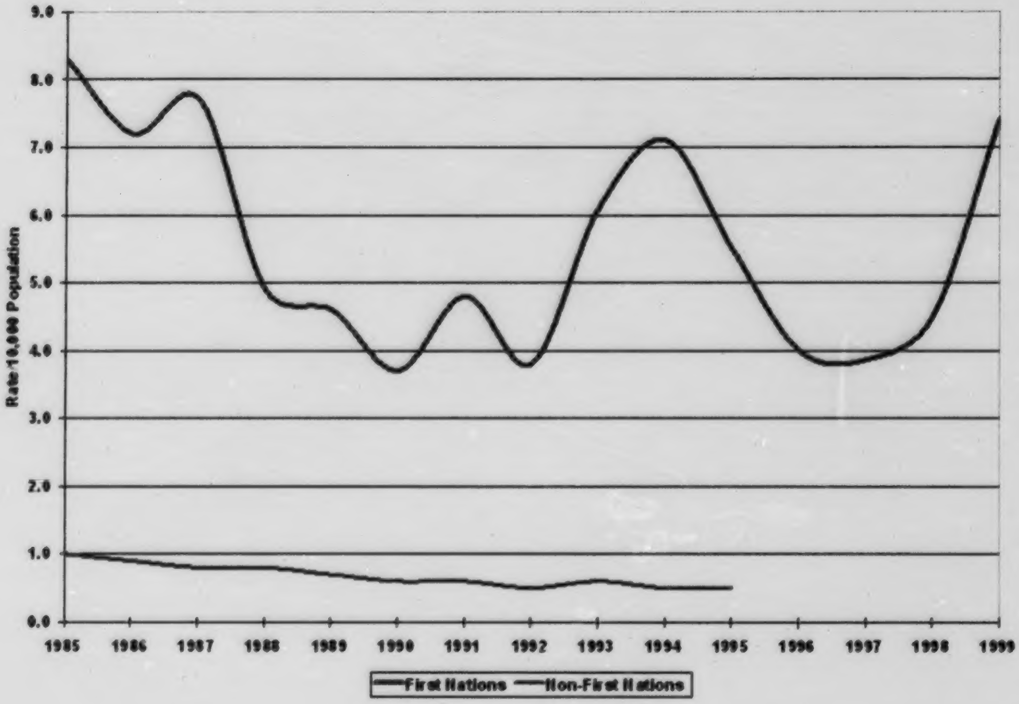
TUBERCULOSIS

Tuberculosis took a devastating toll in many Aboriginal communities prior to World War II. Its incidence has dropped steadily and dramatically to the current national First Nations rate of about 5 cases per 10,000. However, this is still about seven times the non-Aboriginal rate. This is partly attributed to crowded housing and inadequate sewage control on some reserves, and partly to the historically high tuberculosis rates which means many older people still carry the bacteria in their bodies. "As carriers, they are subject to reinfection and if not treated immediately may infect those around them." A Tuberculosis Elimination Plan established by Health Canada in 1995 seeks to reduce First Nations Tuberculosis rates to less than 1 per 100,000 by the year 2010.[20]

In recent years, the decline in the rate of new and reactivated cases among First Nations people has slowed and, in Manitoba, may have even reversed. For example, an outbreak in 1993-94 in a Winnipeg homeless shelter pushed rates up sharply from the low point reached in 1990-92.[21]

Outbreaks of tuberculosis continue to occur in clusters in northern First Nations, such as the dozen cases in isolated Gods Lake Narrows in 1998. There were no cases the following year. Ten per cent of Manitoba cases in 1998 were found in children 14 and under.[22]

NEW AND REACTIVATED TUBERCULOSIS CASES IN MANITOBA: 1985-1999



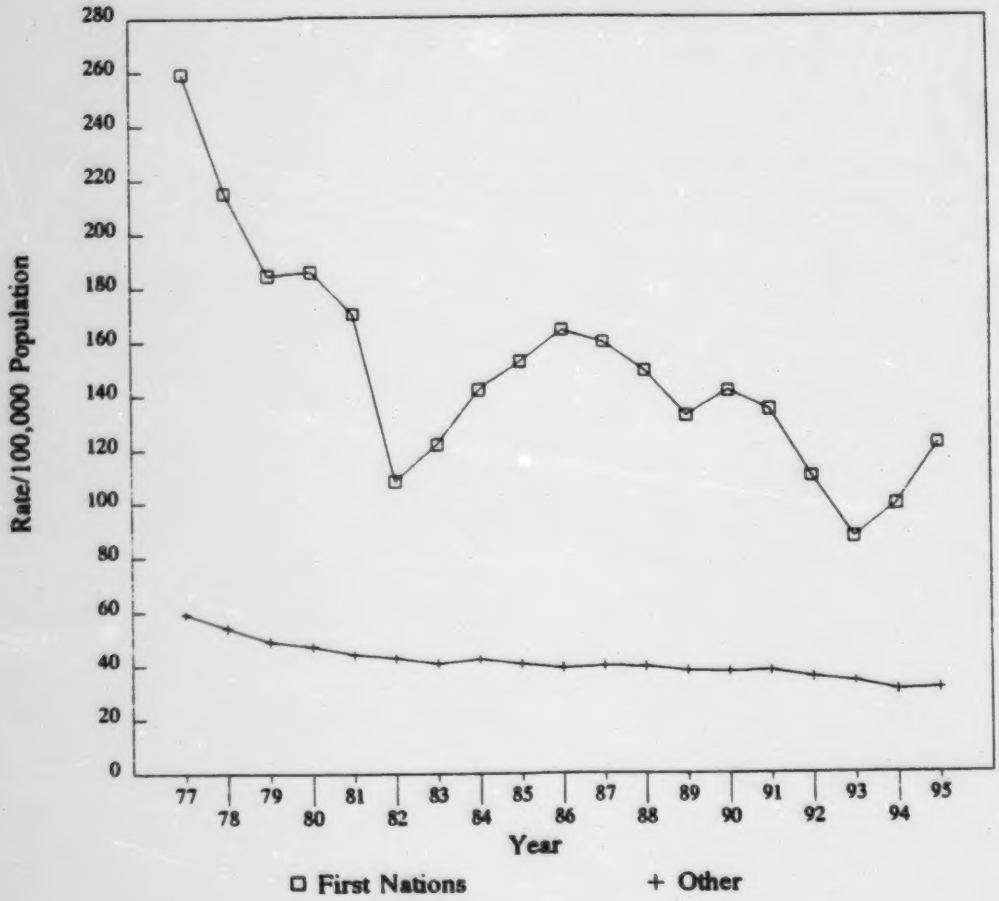
CHILDREN'S HEALTH

Aboriginal children, particular in isolated communities, are at increased risk of contracting a number of infectious diseases. A recent study of shigellosis, a highly infectious diarrheal disease, found rates among First Nations children 29 times the rate for other Manitoba children. This was linked to sewage and waste disposal inadequacies, as well as poverty and crowded housing. There are also higher rates of respiratory infections such as bronchitis and pneumonia, where environmental factors such as tobacco and wood smoke may also play a part. Lowered resistance to infectious disease has been attributed partly to Vitamin A deficiency in northern areas.[23]

In Manitoba, 23% of on reserve First Nations children aged 0-14 in 1997 were described by their parents as having a health status only "fair" or "poor." This is in comparison with 16% of First Nations/ Inuit children nationally, and with only 2% of Canadian children involved in the National Longitudinal Study of Children and Youth, conducted during the same period.

The most-frequently reported chronic illnesses were allergies (11%) and asthma (10%). However, these conditions do not appear to be any more common than among First Nations children than among Canadian children in general. Bronchitis and ear infections, on the other hand, were more frequently noted among First Nations children, both provincially and nationally.[24]

MORTALITY RATES FOR
FIRST NATIONS VS NON-FIRST NATIONS CHILDREN
(In Children 29 Days to 14 Years)
(3 Year Moving Average)



USE OF MEDICAL SERVICES

A study completed in 1993 compared Winnipeg urban health care service utilization between Status Indians and other residents. Results indicated that Status Indians' use of health care services was substantially higher, both in the core area and suburban districts. Core area Status Indians demonstrated almost twice as many hospital days per 1,000 as other residents of the core area.[25]

Provincially, age-standardized hospitalization rates for injuries, infectious, circulatory and respiratory diseases were, respectively, 3.3, 6.3, 1.8 and 3.3 times higher among First Nations people than other Manitoba residents.[26] As may be deduced from the mortality and morbidity information in this chapter, higher hospital use is linked to health deficiencies in the Aboriginal population, as well as more frequent and more serious injuries.

It may also be attributed to the lack of available outpatient health care in often isolated reserve locations. Having completed surveys in 1997 of 1,948 adults and 870 children in 17 representative First Nations communities, the final report of the Manitoba First Nations Regional Health Survey found that only 35% of people interviewed indicated that there were sufficient nurses at the community level, 25% reported enough dentists and 13% enough doctors. Eighty-eight per cent found the availability of language interpreters inadequate and, not surprising, 94% the availability of medical specialists:

> In general, most ancillary services such as sexual abuse counselling, mental health services, nutritional counselling, home support, day care, and substance abuse counselling were regarded as very inadequate by the vast majority of people interviewed. In a few areas such as medical transport, approximately half the people interviewed felt this particular service was adequate.[27]

METIS HEALTH ISSUES

As noted, data-based health research specific to Metis people in Manitoba or Canada is very close to non-existent. Two reasons are: (1) the absence of a Metis registry or list of any sort; and (2) the absence of any bureaucracy or organization charged to deliver, oversee, or fund health services specifically directed to Metis people. By contrast, very extensive data regarding health indicators for First Nations individuals and collectivities are collected, compiled, and made available to researchers.

The 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey collected self-reported health data from Metis-identity and other Aboriginal people and, while somewhat outdated, information from this source provides a basis for broad comparisons between the Aboriginal groups.[28] A similar survey is planned for the 2001 Census.

Overall, the self-perceived health status (excellent, very good, good, fair or poor) was similar for Metis and First Nations respondents, just as it was similar for First Nations on or off-reserve, or for Winnipeg Aboriginal people versus those outside Winnipeg. Of Metis respondents 15 years of age or older, 33% reported one or more chronic health conditions, again similar to First Nations respondents at 32%. It should be noted, however, that the Metis population was slightly older than the First Nations, and therefore more likely by dint of age to report health problems.

There were, however, significant differences in the specific ailments reported. Only 5% of adult Metis respondents reported a diagnosis of diabetes, compared to 7% of off-reserve and 11% of on-reserve Status Indians (and as noted, incidence of diabetes among Status Indians has increased rapidly during the 1990's). Diabetes incidence among Metis was the same within and outside Winnipeg, and more closely approximated non-Aboriginal than First Nations rates on reserve.

High blood pressure, or hypertension, was reported by 13-14% of all Aboriginal adults, Status or Metis and on or off-reserve, with the single exception of Metis living in Winnipeg who reported a 7% rate, pulling the provincial Metis rate down to 10%. Tuberculosis, a traditional scourge of First Nation populations, was also reported less often among the Metis: 1% as compared to 3% for both on and off reserve Status Indians.

On the other hand, Metis were more likely than First Nations respondents to report a number of other chronic illnesses. Seventeen per cent of Metis adults reported arthritis and/or rheumatism: 15% in Winnipeg and 19% outside. This compares to 12% of Indians on-reserve and 14% off.

Some respiratory illnesses were also reported to afflict Metis more often than Indians (and off-reserve Indians more than on). Self-reported bronchitis had an interesting pattern. Only 4% of on reserve Indians reported this condition, but 6% off reserve outside Winnipeg, climbing to 13% in Winnipeg. By contrast, 7% of Metis in Winnipeg and 11% outside Winnipeg reported the condition. As noted, most Metis outside Winnipeg live in non-urban communities, often adjacent to First Nations. This begs the question of why Metis people reported three times the bronchitis incidence rate of their Indian neighbours in rural areas, but half the incidence rate within Winnipeg.

Metis adults also reported higher rates of asthma: 8% among Metis city residents, compared to 5-6% for Metis outside the city and off-reserve Indians, and to just 3% on reserve. Heart disease, emphysema and epilepsy rates were similar for Metis and Status, regardless of place of residence.

Seventy-eight per cent of Metis respondents reported that they had seen a health professional within the past year: similar to the off-reserve Status Indian rate of 76% but much greater than the on-reserve rate of 61%. Seventy-six per cent of Metis had seen a doctor, compared to only 53% of Status on-reserve, who were more likely to have seen a nurse (38%), community health representative (CHR; 14%), or traditional healer (6%).

The Aboriginal Peoples Survey included a question asking whether the respondent's "special medical needs" were or were not covered by the "medicare system." As noted, Metis are ineligible for benefits under the federal Non-Insured Health Benefits Program (NIHB), which covers Inuit and Status Indians, on or off reserve. Only 2% of residents Status Indians on reserve reported inadequate health insurance coverage, and 7% off reserve. By contrast, 14% of Winnipeg Metis and 28% of Metis outside Winnipeg reported inadequate coverage. That is, Metis people in Manitoba were on average 11 times more likely than Status Indians on reserve to incur (or refrain from incurring) medical expenses not covered by government benefits.

DISABILITIES

Disabilities refer to difficulties experienced in performing an activity in a manner or within the range considered normal for human beings. Types of disability include limitations in mobility, agility, hearing, seeing, speaking, and limitations imposed by a learning disability or mental illness.

According to 1996 Census data, 10.6% of Manitobans of all ages reported a long-term disability. The percentages for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Manitobans were similar: 10.2% and 10.7% respectively. However, as in the case of mortality and many other health statistics, the relatively low Aboriginal percentage is because of the younger Aboriginal population. The likelihood of experiencing a disability increases with age.

In every age group, Aboriginal people were more likely than non-Aboriginal people to report a disability–usually between 1.5 to 2 times as likely. Metis people in particular reported high rates of disability:

PERCENT REPORTING LONG TERM DISABILITIES: 1996 CENSUS

Age Group	Non-Aboriginal	Reg. Indians	Metis
0-14	2.8	5.1	4.6
15-29	3.9	5.3	6.1
30-64	9.8	14.8	17.2
65+	34.4	50.6	46.5

Aboriginal people within any specific age group are more likely than other Canadians to have hearing, sight and/or speech difficulties. Mobility disabilities occur at similar rates for both populations.[29]

Among First Nations people under age 65, disability rates are far higher off-reserve than on, and highest of all in Winnipeg. This is presumably because of better access to health care services making persons with disabilities more likely to migrate to urban centres.[30] In Winnipeg, this may lead to the impression that First Nations disability rates are much higher than non-Aboriginal rates. In fact, 9.4% of all registered Indians in Manitoba report a disability, compared to 10.7% of non-Aboriginal people, again because of the younger age profile.

PERCENT OF REGISTERED INDIANS WITH DISABILITIES: 1996 CENSUS

Age Group	On Reserve	Off Reserve	Winnipeg
0-14	3.4	7.4	8.1
15-29	3.4	8.0	8.2
30-64	12.2	18.6	19.8
65+	53.2	45.1	41.8

The numbers of disabled Aboriginal people in the working age population will grow substantially in coming years as the population ages, particularly because of the increasing prevalence and earlier onset of Type 2 Diabetes. Already, 20% of Status Indians in Winnipeg aged 30-64 report a long-term disability.

Across Manitoba, 13,015 Aboriginal people reported a disability on the 1996 Census. Of these, 7,630 were Status Indians, 4,605 Metis, and 710 Non-Status or other Aboriginal. Only 3,640 disabled Aboriginal people normally resided on reserve, or 28%. 9,330 lived off reserve, including 5,280 in Winnipeg.[31]

Aboriginal communities and organizations express concern regarding mental health service for their people. Although hospital utilization rates for mental disorders of Status Indians are less than total Manitoba rates, it may be that this is influenced by the availability of services in rural and remote areas. However, in the Winnipeg core area, Status Indian hospitalization for mental illness for the ages between 10 and 34 is more than double for other Winnipeggers in that age group.[32]

FETAL ALCOHOL SYNDROME/FETAL ALCOHOL EFFECTS

Fetal Alcohol Syndrome(FAS), and the related condition of Fetal Alcohol Effects, consists of neurological impairments that result in delayed growth, intellectual and behavioural disabilities, and in the worst cases (FAS) facial abnormalities. The danger is greatest during the first trimester, before women often realize they are pregnant. It has been estimated by the Canadian Centre for Substance Abuse that the lifetime cost to society of one FAS child is as much as $1.4 million.[33]

In February 1997, results were announced of a study of 179 children at one on-reserve Manitoba school. The researchers reported that 11 children were found to be diagnosable as FAS and another six as FAE, from which it was estimated that almost 10% of the students had features of alcohol-related damage. If so, this would be 50 times the world and Canada-wide rate of about 0.2%.[34]

However, the 1999 National Report of the First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey cautions that:

> Although a few case studies suggest that FAS is more common among Canadian Native children than non-native children, there is yet no good evidence to support this conclusion. For instance, researchers have studied FAS in Native communities without including a non-native comparison group. When a comparison group has been included, it is not clear that criteria for FAS have been applied consistently to both groups. To date, a valid comparison of the prevalent rates of FAS for Natives and non-Natives has not been carried out.[35]

Interestingly, researchers for the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth (NLSCY, 1994-95) found that, of the 17.1% of mothers who had consumed any amount of alcohol during their pregnancy, most were older (age 35-39), and more affluent and highly educated than average – a profile hardly resembling Aboriginal mothers. The NLSCY found no correlation between alcohol use during pregnancy and post-natal complications, though its sampling method was not targeted to capture FAS/FAE sufferers.[36]

Only 20 children in the entire Winnipeg School Division No.1 have been "diagnosed conclusively" with FAS or FAE. However, school officials claim "there are many more who haven't been diagnosed who suffer the same learning disabilities."[37] Apparently, more research is required before the extent and impact of FAS/FAE can be understood.

CHAPTER THREE: CHILD CARE AND DEVELOPMENT

EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT

Researchers are increasingly focusing upon the effects of the environment and life experiences in the early childhood years, especially ages three and under, on long-term life outcomes. The way that children are cared for in these years "influences problem solving, language acquisition, coping skills and productivity for the rest of their lives." [1]

In 1994-95 Human Resource Development Canada and Statistics Canada launched a massive "National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth". They followed a group of 23,831 children, located across Canada and aged 11 and under, until they reached adulthood. The study was designed to look into the "black box" of child development to see which supposed "at risk factors" were responsible for negative outcomes, and how these factors interact:

> "While we are certain that family financial resources are associated with many aspects of child development, we are not as certain of the various ways the influence is transmitted. It can be through nutrition, stress, health care, access to material goods, self-esteem, neighbourhood influence, and so on."[2]

Preliminary results from the first "cycle" of surveys suggested that individual risk factors (such as single parent families, low education of parents, low household income, parental depression, lack of social supports or family "dysfunction") had very limited effects on academic and behavioural outcomes.

However, the effects of at risk factors appeared to multiply, so that children with multiple risk factors showed significantly more negative outcomes than children with fewer risk factors present. It was estimated that two or three risk factors increase the chances of negative outcomes fourfold, and four risk factors tenfold.[3] However, parenting styles can positively or negatively impact outcomes to some extent, so that "children in at-risk situations who enjoyed positive parenting achieved scores within the average range for children in Canada."[4]

This is significant, precisely because large numbers of Aboriginal children in Manitoba find themselves in multiple risk situations. Single parent families, teen parents, less than Grade 12 education, low income, parental incarceration, health problems and disabilities, foster placements and children in care–each of these sorts of issues have been demonstrated by evidence to be more likely to "find" the Aboriginal family. The at-risk factors are themselves interrelated, and often appear together—for example, single mothers with low educational attainments, low income, poor urban neighbourhoods and frequent residential moves.

During the 1990s, the federal government had provided funding for a number of initiatives offering subsidized day care and developmental services for Aboriginal pre-schoolers. Health Canada's Head Start program was initially targeted at off-reserve Aboriginal people, and has more recently added an on-reserve component. As well, since 1997, Human Resources Development Canada has provided funding for on-reserve child-care centres for parents pursuing training or employment. There are day care facilities in each Manitoba First Nation, administered by local officials.

CHILDREN IN CARE OF CHILD AND FAMILY SERVICES AGENCIES

In Manitoba in 1996, 13.2% of Aboriginal children aged 14 and under were not living with their parents, a figure about seven times that for non-Aboriginal children. This proportion is ordinarily higher on reserves and rural off-reserve locations, and lower in urban areas.[5] Of the many possible reasons for children not living with parents, apprehension by Child and Family Services (CFS) may be the most common, particularly among Status Indians. Of 32,000 Status Indians aged 14 and under counted in the 1996 Census, about 3,000 were in the care of child and family services.

Manitoba places children into care at a high rate in general: 16.6 per 1,000 children, as compared to 9.7 in Saskatchewan and 10 in Alberta.[6] These children ordinarily reside in foster or group homes. The number of children in care rose steadily to about 5,300 in 1994/5, and has remained at this level each year in the late 1990s.

Aboriginal children are over-represented among children in CFS care. Of 5,389 children in care on March 31, 1997, 3,071 or 57% were Status Indians. An additional 326 or 6.1% were Metis, and 362 or 6.7% non-Status or Inuit.[7] So, Aboriginal children, representing about 20% of the child population, comprised at least 70% of the children in care (a further 417 children, or 7.7%, were not identified as either Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal).

The Ma Mawi Chi Itata Centre in Winnipeg, established in 1984, provides child and family services to Aboriginal children of Winnipeg. It is a non-mandated agency, meaning that it has no power to remove children from their families.

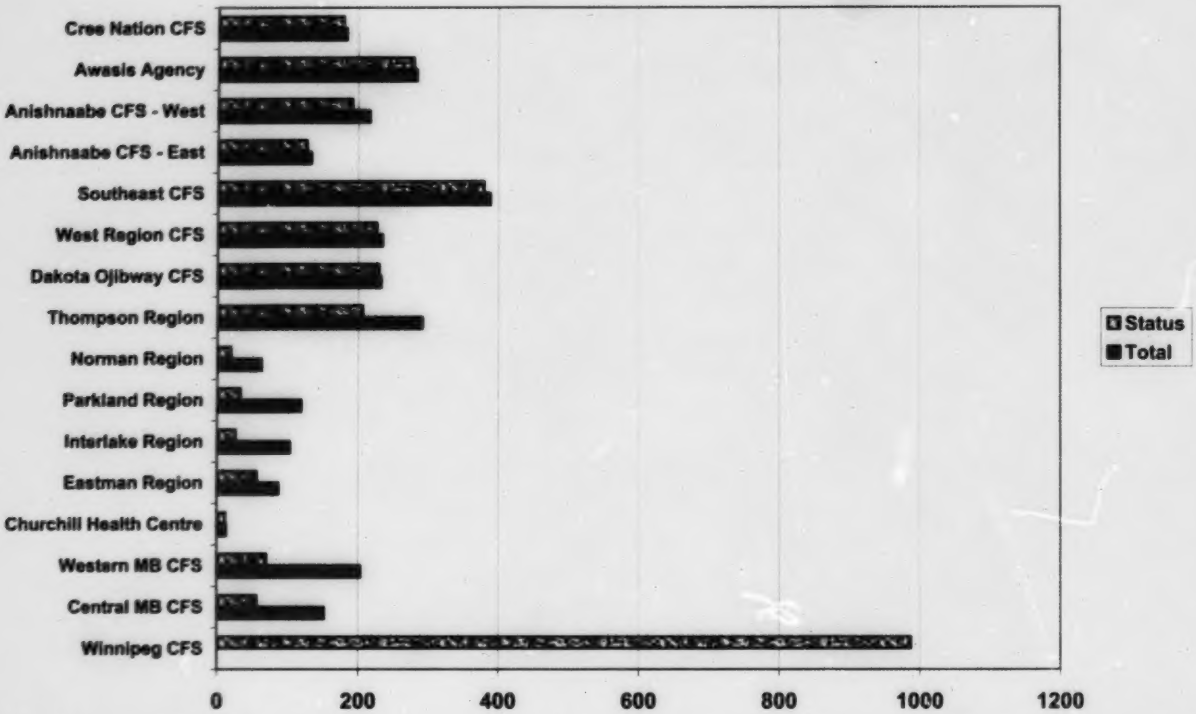
Mandated child and family services for off-reserve Aboriginal children are under provincial jurisdiction, and are administered by the mainstream CFS agencies. In Winnipeg, Aboriginal children currently account for about 70% of the children in care.[8] According to a 1998 Winnipeg CFS report, the number of Aboriginal children in its care tripled over the previous decade, while the number of non-Aboriginal children in care declined.[9]

Manitoba Metis children have appeared to be only slightly over-represented among children in care, except in the Parkland region (i.e. Dauphin/Swan River), where they were 53% of the children in care in 1997 (63 of 118 children). The largest number of Metis children in care are in Winnipeg (192 of 326), but this is only 7.2% of children in care of Winnipeg CFS.[10] Children (aged 14 and under) identified as Metis in the census are 5% of the children in Winnipeg.

By contrast, both Status and non-Status Indians are extremely over-represented among children in care. For example, in Winnipeg in 1997, the 987 Status children in care represented 37% of all children in care, though Status children were only 6.3% of the child population. A Status child in Winnipeg was therefore six times as likely to be removed from the family as the average child.

Province-wide, the over 3,000 Status children in care were distributed among agencies as follows:

Status Indian Children in Care by Agency, 1997



Since the 1980's, First Nations-controlled child and family service agencies have been mandated to serve the on-reserve population. Dakota-Ojibway Tribal Council established Canada's first mandated Aboriginal CFS agency in 1981. There are currently seven agencies, as indicated on the above chart. In 1997, 1,609 Status children were in the care of these agencies, or 53% of Status children in care.[11] Because 58% of Status children lived on reserve, this indicated that on-reserve Status children were less likely to be taken into care than off reserve, but that the difference is slight. Children apprehended by the on-reserve CFS agencies, however, were more likely to be placed within the community and, if possible, the extended family.

The number of Status children in the care of the First-Nations controlled CFS agencies increased from 61% in 1984 to 69% in 1990.[12] It has since decreased to 53% in 1997, despite a slight increase in the proportion of Status children living on reserve. The decrease was due to (1) the rapid increase in the number of off-reserve children in the care of the mainstream CFS agencies, especially in Winnipeg, (2) efforts to find family-based solutions by the First Nations CFS agencies, and (3) lack of funding and mandate to extend First Nations CFS services off reserve. The result was that relatively fewer Status children were in the care of the First Nations agencies in the 1990s than in the 1980s.

The Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission appointed by the provincial government in 1999 made as its first recommendation the extension of Aboriginal-controlled CFS agencies off reserve. In February 2000, the province signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the MMF that will lead to the establishment of a province-wide child and family services system for Metis people, including adoption services.[13] Similar MOUs were subsequently signed with First Nations regarding mandated services for off-reserve members. Implementation plans are currently under development.

CHAPTER FOUR: EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Grade Nine completion is often considered an indicator of basic functional literacy. Research shows that completion of Grade Eleven is the first point at which further educational attainment is rewarded by increased earnings in the labour market. Certification of graduation from Grade Twelve is mandatory for almost all new employment positions, with most requiring some post-secondary education or training.

The Conference Board of Canada reports that "corporations expect about 92% of new employees to have at least completed secondary education; 23% should have community college diplomas and 24% university degrees."[1] This is a conservative estimate. The conventional wisdom is that 70% of new positions will require post-secondary education or training.

The current educational profile of the Aboriginal population does not remotely resemble emerging labour market requirements. This is a young population, and growing at more than twice the rate of the non-Aboriginal population. Twenty per cent of Manitoba children 14 and under are Aboriginal, and they will join the working age population over the next 20 years, comprising 20% of potential new entrants to the labour market. The educational profile of today's Aboriginal youth is of crucial importance to the province's economic future. Unfortunately, the indicators are not encouraging.

FUNCTIONAL LITERACY

The level of primary and secondary education of Manitoba's Aboriginal people is improving, but still lags significantly behind that of the general population. Statistics show that 12.4% of Aboriginal youth aged 15-29 have less than a Grade Nine education, compared to 15.1% of Aboriginal people aged 30-39 and 18.3% of those aged 40-49. This indicates improvement, but by way of contrast only 1.9% of the non-Aboriginal population aged 15-29 have not completed Grade Nine.

There has been a long-term trend toward increasing educational attainment, for Aboriginal people as for all other groups in Manitoba. A literacy survey undertaken in Manitoba by the Metis National Council asked its respondents aged 15 and over about their highest educational attainment, and also that of their mothers and fathers. The largest group of Metis respondents (43%) fell into the Grade Nine to Eleven group, followed by Grades Five to Eight (18%) and Grade Twelve (17%). Of their parents, however, the largest group fell into the Grade Five to Eight range (34% of mothers and 30% of fathers), followed by Grades Nine to Eleven (about 21%) and Grades One to Four (about 12%).[2]

In recent decades, increases in the numbers of Aboriginal people completing Grade Nine have been slow and uneven. Despite school construction on reserve and increasing Band involvement in education, there remains a wide gulf between educational levels of Status Indians on and off reserve, and between Status Indians and Metis. Statistics show that 16.8% of Metis aged 40-49 have not completed Grade Nine, nor have 27.1% of Status Indians. For those aged 15-29, 16.8% of Status Indians and only 4.6% of Metis have not completed Grade Nine. Of Status Indians aged 15-29 and residing off reserve, 9.8% have not completed Grade Nine, compared to 21.5% on reserve.[3]

Low educational attainment continues to be associated with geographic isolation. In 1991, the five First Nations with the highest percentage of adults aged 15 and over who had not completed Grade Nine were all communities accessible year-round only by air. Of the 15 First Nations with the highest percentage, eleven were accessible only by air. In all of these communities, over 50% of adults had less than a Grade Nine education.[4]

HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION

Only 33.7% of Aboriginal youth aged 15-29 have completed high school. Another 53.9% have some high school, whether or not they are still attending school. Only among those aged 50 and over are lower high school completion rates seen (22.4%). The low rate of high school completion among Aboriginal youth is cause for concern. Of course, many youth non-completers are still in school or will return as adults to complete Grade Twelve or equivalent.

Statistics show that 44.7% of Metis aged 15-29 have completed high school, compared to 62.7% of non-Aboriginal youth. Among Status Indian youth, 36.1% off reserve and 25.2% on reserve have completed high school. In Winnipeg, 35.7% of Status Indian youth and 47.8% of Metis youth have completed high school.

MANITOBA HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION RATES, 1996 CENSUS:

Age	Non-Aboriginal	Metis	Status Off Reserve	Status on Reserve	All Aboriginal
15-29	62.7	44.7	36.1	25.2	33.7
30-39	77.2	57.4	53.7	40.6	50.9
40-49	73.7	50.7	52.2	41.4	47.1
ALL	61.2	45.7	41.6	27.9	38.2

Overall, 38.2% of Aboriginal adults aged 15 and over had completed Grade Twelve at the time of the 1996 Census, compared to 61.2% of the non-Aboriginal population. This is up from 33.3% in the 1991 Census. Adults aged 30-49 are most likely to have completed high school. Within this age group, a majority of both Metis and Status Indians off reserve have completed, as well as about 40% of Status Indians on reserve.

POST-SECONDARY

Of Aboriginal people who have completed high school, large numbers have pursued post-secondary education or training of some sort. For example, 23.5% of all Metis aged 40-49 had completed some sort of non-university training, as had 19.2% of all Status Indians aged 40-49. For both groups, by the age of 40 a large majority of high school graduates had some post-secondary training/education, of which more than half had completed a certificate or degree.

Only 7.7% of Aboriginal people aged 15 and over have their high school certificate and no further post-secondary. There appear to be two entirely different typical educational trajectories for Aboriginal people–about half do not complete high school, and another group, almost as large, pursues post-secondary education/training. The large gulf between the two groups means that moving a person from the first to the second group may require a series of education and training "interventions."

Aboriginal graduates who pursue post-secondary education are more likely to attend community colleges or other non-university education or training, relative to the non-Aboriginal population. While non-Aboriginal people are as likely to pursue university as non-university post-secondary (24.6% vs. 25.0%), Aboriginal people are twice as likely to pursue non-university post-secondary–23.2% vs. 11.0% for the Metis, and 18.1% vs. 10.2% for First Nations.

Aboriginal attendance and completion rates for non-university post-secondary approach non-Aboriginal rates, especially among Metis and off-reserve Status Indians. Of adults aged 15 and over, 19.9% of non-Aboriginal people have completed, compared with 17% of Metis, 14.5% of off-reserve Status, and 10.5% of on-reserve Status. These patterns are consistent among age groups, suggesting little recent change in trends:

NON-UNIVERSITY POST-SECONDARY COMPLETION RATES, 1996 CENSUS:

Age	Non-Aboriginal	Metis	Status Off Reserve	Status on Reserve	All Aboriginal
15-29	13.0	11.2	9.9	6.2	8.9
30-39	26.1	24.6	19.8	17.2	20.7
40-49	25.4	23.5	21.2	17.6	20.9
ALL	19.9	17.0	14.5	10.5	13.9

Note that a Status Indian on reserve aged 15-29 has about half the non-Aboriginal chance of completing non-university post-secondary, but at age 40-49 has 70% the chance. This is due to higher educational participation among older Aboriginal people. For the same reason, lower completion rates among Aboriginal youth aged 15-29 do not necessarily suggest a deteriorating trend. Many will complete their schooling later in life.

By contrast, far fewer Manitoba Aboriginal people attend university, and fewer still complete. Only 2.9% of Aboriginal people in Manitoba aged 15 and over have completed a university degree, and only 1.8% on reserve, compared to 12.6% of the non-Aboriginal population. This represents about 1,100 Status Indian, 1,000 Metis, and 100 non-Status Indian university graduates in the province. According to 1996 Census figures, both the number and proportion of Aboriginal university graduates had declined since 1991, but this is due to the change in the definition of "Aboriginal." [5]

By contrast, seven percent of Aboriginal people aged 25-34 in Saskatchewan have completed a university degree, the highest rate west of New Brunswick. This has been attributed to the "long term presence of Aboriginally-oriented institutions of higher learning in that province."[6] The Manitoba rate, 3%, is similar to rates in Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia.

The majority of Aboriginal university graduates are female. Of Aboriginal women 15 and over, 3.7% have completed a university degree, compared to 2.1% of Aboriginal men. In Winnipeg, 4.9% of Aboriginal women have completed a degree, and a higher proportion of women aged 30-49.[7] Of all Aboriginal people 15 and over in Winnipeg, 4.3% have completed a degree, but for ages 30-39 this rises to 5.3%, and for ages 40-49, 7.7%.

Non-Aboriginal people complete more years of education, and earlier, but more Aboriginal people continue their education later in life. Nationally, in the 25 to 34 age group, 12% of Aboriginal people were full-time students in 1996, compared to 6% of the non-Aboriginal population. For ages 35 to 44, the figures were 7% and 3% respectively. Nationally, 45% of Aboriginal students attending higher education are 25 years or older, compared to 14% of the general population.

Metis youth are more likely to complete a university degree by age 30 than are Status Indians (2.7% vs. 0.7%). However, Status Indians are more likely to attend or complete university during their lives than Metis–especially Status Indians residing off reserve. This is due to Band support for post-secondary education, funded through the federal Indian Affairs department, which is not available to Metis and non-Status Indians.[8]

PERCENT WITH SOME UNIVERSITY OR COMPLETED DEGREE, 1996 CENSUS

Age	Non-Aboriginal	Metis	Status Off Reserve	Status on Reserve	All Aboriginal
15-29	30.0	1.2	10.2	5.0	8.5
30-39	29.7	2.8	18.2	12.6	14.5
40-49	30.4	2.6	20.0	15.0	15.3
ALL	24.6	1.0	13.5	7.8	10.6

LABOUR MARKET TRAINING

Before the mid-1990s, funding for labour market training and living allowances for trainees was provided for the most part through the federal Human Resources Development department (HRDC) and its predecessors. More recently, however, the federal government has withdrawn from purchase of labour market training, and authorities have been devolved to the Manitoba government and to Aboriginal organizations. HRDC and other federal departments, including Indian and Northern Affairs, continue to deliver youth employment initiatives.

In 1997, HRDC signed large umbrella agreements with the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs and the Manitoba Metis Federation to administer employment and training funds earmarked for Aboriginal clients. They, in turn, distribute funding to local offices throughout the province. In 1999, HRDC signed a similar agreement with the Centre for Aboriginal Human Resources Development, with funding set aside for Winnipeg Aboriginal clients.

Also in 1997, Canada and Manitoba signed a Labour Market Development Agreement to deliver employment and training initiatives under the 1996 Employment Insurance Act to all Manitobans including Aboriginal people. The following year, Canada and Manitoba signed a Memorandum of Understanding permitting off-reserve Aboriginal people to remain on social assistance while on training.

These agreements fund, among other things, community college and job training projects falling within the category of non-university post-secondary education. Census data to be collected in 2001 will indicate whether and to what extent Aboriginal control of these programs is increasing Aboriginal participation and completion rates. These data will start to become available in 2003.

FOCUS: YOUTH

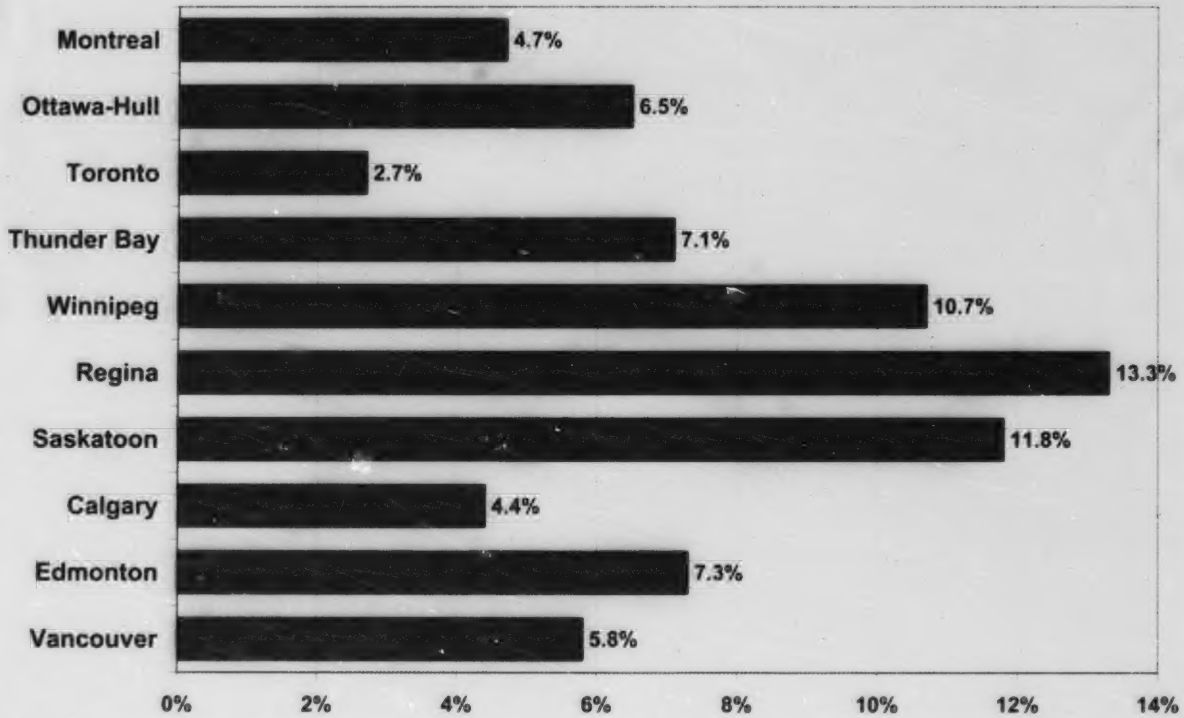
LIVING ARRANGEMENTS

Nationally, 57% of Aboriginal youth aged 15-24 lived in two-parent families, 25% in single parent families, and 18% in non-family settings. However, less than 20% of rural and reserve youth live in single parent families, and over 30% in urban settings, especially large cities. In Winnipeg, 34% of Aboriginal youth live with single parents, consistent with numbers in other large prairie cities.[1]

Aboriginal youth are three times as likely to live with a single parent as non-Aboriginal youth. They are also more likely to be single parents–3.4 times as likely nationally. Manitoba has a larger percentage of Aboriginal youth that head single parent families than the national average: 6.4% vs. 5.1%.

However, this also varies according to location: 2.7% of reserve youth and 2.4% of rural Aboriginal youth are single parents, less than twice the non-Aboriginal figure of 1.5%. By contrast, 8% of Aboriginal youth in large cities are single parents. At 10.7%, Winnipeg has among the highest rates of Aboriginal youth single parents. Because 90% of these single parents are female, this means that one fifth of Aboriginal female youth are single parents. Of all single parent families in Winnipeg headed by youth, 39.7% are Aboriginal youth.

% of Aboriginal Youth (15-24) Heading Single Parent Families, 1996



SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

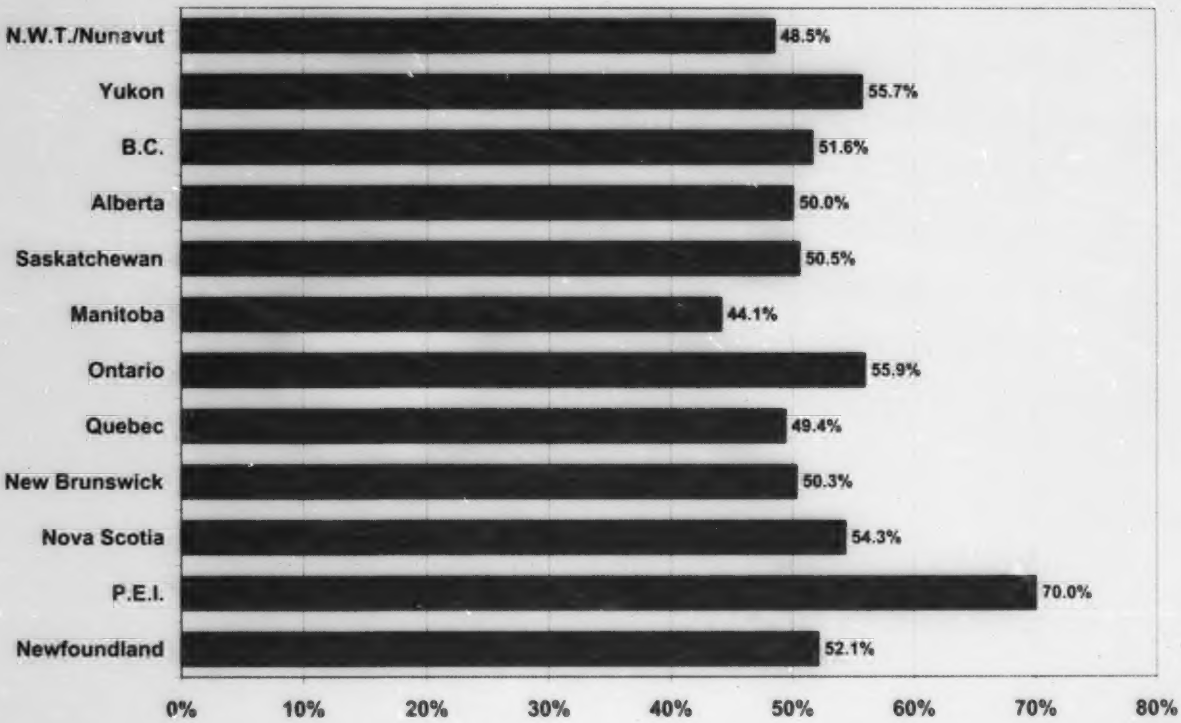
Manitoba has the lowest rate of school attendance among Aboriginal youth of any province or territory in Canada, by a considerable margin. Only 44.1% of Aboriginal youth aged 15-24 were attending school either full or part time, at the time of the 1996 Census. The national average for Aboriginal youth was 50.4%. Manitoba also had one of the widest gaps in school attendance between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth. Aboriginal youth were 74% as likely as non-Aboriginal youth to be attending school. In other provinces, except Quebec (71%), Aboriginal youth were 81% to 86% as likely.[2]

Because of the close relationship between educational attainment and later socio-economic outcomes (see CHAPTER 6: LABOUR AND INCOME), this suggests that the gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal life outcomes will continue to widen in Manitoba, relative to the rest of the country.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF MANITOBA ABORIGINAL YOUTH AGED 15-24[3]

	N. Amer. Indian	%	Metis	%	All Manitobans	%
Attending full time	5,625	39	3,560	41	76,685	50
Attending part time	515	3	575	7	10,310	7
Not attending school	8,445	58	4,555	52	66,010	43

Aboriginal Youth (15-24) Attending School, 1996

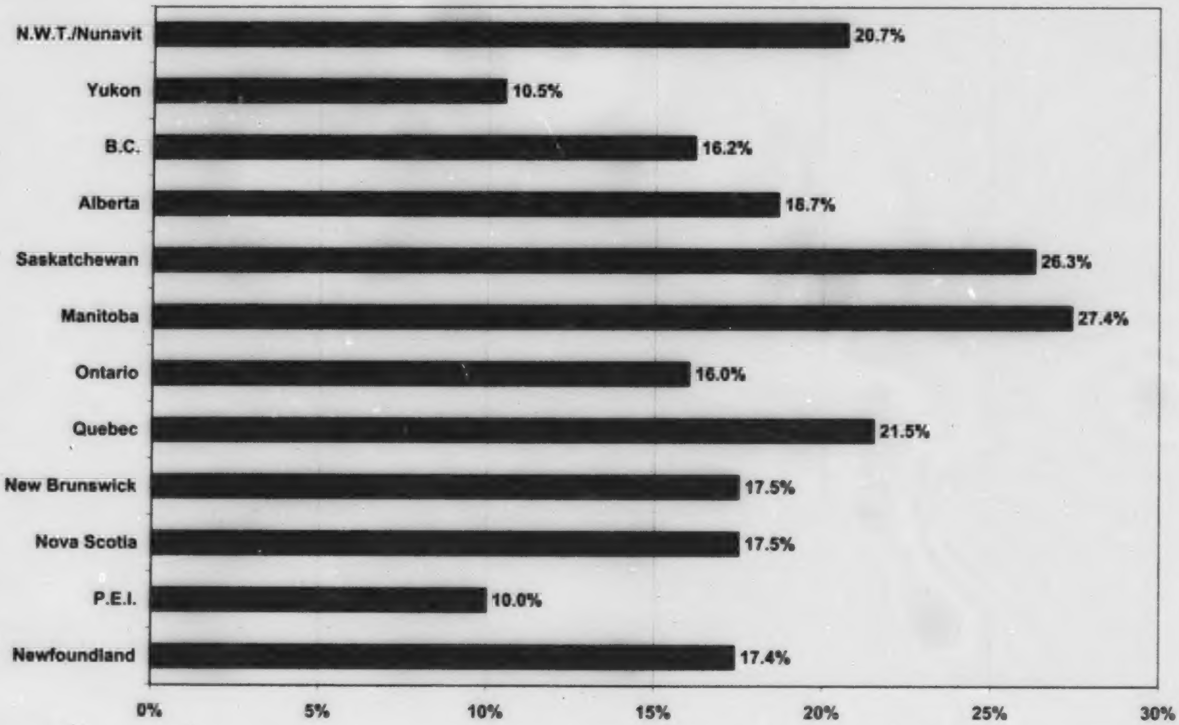


Nationally, about two thirds of Aboriginal youth aged 15-24 and not attending school had not completed high school, compared to 39% of non-Aboriginal youth. In Manitoba, Aboriginal youth were 51% as likely as non-Aboriginal youth to have completed high school certificates and/or undertaken post-secondary education. Only in Prince Edward Island (45%) and Northwest Territories (39%) were the odds lower. In Saskatchewan and Quebec, the odds were 53%, in Alberta 59%, in British Columbia 67%, and Ontario 70%. The national average was 57%.[4]

LABOUR MARKET PARTICIPATION

Of the 56% of Aboriginal youth not attending school in 1996, only 51% were participating in the labour market, either employed or looking for work. Therefore, fully 27.4% of Manitoba Aboriginal youth were neither attending school (even part-time) nor participating in the labour market (even as unemployed persons looking for work). This core "youth at risk" group was larger in Manitoba than in any other province, including provinces with larger Aboriginal populations. While proportionally similar to Saskatchewan (26.3%), it was proportionately 50 to 60% larger than in British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario or Atlantic Canada.

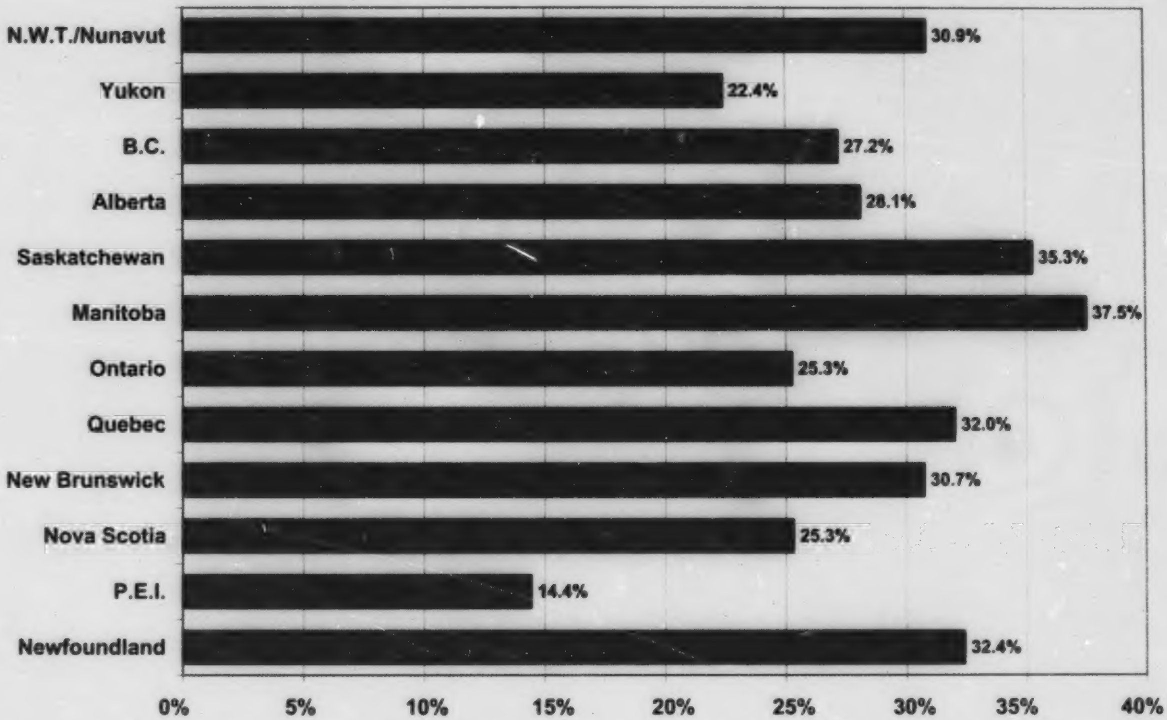
Aboriginal Youth (15-24) Neither Attending School Nor Participating in the Labour Market, 1996



Of Manitoba Aboriginal youth not in school but who do participate in the labour market, 35.5% were unemployed at the time of the 1996 Census (about 10% of the total Aboriginal youth population). Adding the unemployed to the above group yields the number neither attending school nor employed.

Of Manitoba Aboriginal youth, 37.5% were neither in school nor employed in 1996, a larger proportion than any other province or territory. Saskatchewan had the second largest proportion of youth in this at risk group (35.3%), followed by Quebec and Newfoundland (32%). In Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta, less than 30% of Aboriginal youth were neither in school nor employed.

Aboriginal Youth (15-24) Neither Attending School Nor Employed, 1996



The Manitoba Aboriginal youth unemployment rate of 35.5% is close to the national average of 34.4%. However, because the overall Manitoba unemployment rate is very low, the differential between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth unemployment is much higher than in most provinces. An Aboriginal youth in Manitoba in 1996 was 3.5 times as likely to report unemployment as a non-Aboriginal youth. This compares to 3.7 times as likely in Saskatchewan, but only 3 times in Alberta, 2.5 times in British Columbia and 2.1 times in Ontario.[5]

Aboriginal youth unemployment rates (unlike general Aboriginal unemployment rates) are higher on reserve and lower off reserve, especially in larger cities. In Winnipeg the Aboriginal youth unemployment rate in 1996 was 28.8%, not much higher than the overall Winnipeg Aboriginal unemployment rate of 25.2%. Winnipeg's Aboriginal youth unemployment rate was average among major cities—markedly lower than Thunder Bay (42%), Regina and Saskatoon (both 33%), and little higher than Edmonton (28%), Ottawa-Hull (27%) and Toronto (26%). Still, Winnipeg Aboriginal youth were 2.2 times as likely as non-Aboriginal youth to be unemployed.[6]

It is encouraging to note that Aboriginal youth unemployment rates in Winnipeg have been declining since 1981, albeit slowly. Of youth aged 15-24, the unemployment rate was 33.7% in 1981, 30.8% in 1986, and 28.9% in 1991.[7] The unemployment rate was 28.8% in 1996 but, as noted, the 1996 Census excluded persons of partial Aboriginal origin but not identity, and included many people missed in 1991. The reduction in the actual youth unemployment rate from 1991 to 1996 was probably greater than 0.1%.

Because official unemployment rates do not include discouraged workers, or those who attend school because of a perceived lack of employment alternatives, some economists regard employment rates as a superior measure of market success. Because of low labour market participation among Aboriginal youth in Manitoba relative to other provinces, employment rates are low even though unemployment rates are average.

Only 32.8% of Aboriginal youth not attending school full-time were employed in 1996, lower than any province or territory except Saskatchewan (28.7%). The national average was 38.5%, and rates exceeded 40% in Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia. Similarly the employment rate of Winnipeg Aboriginal youth (33.8%), was lower than other large cities except Thunder Bay (27%), Regina and Saskatoon (both 29%). Aboriginal youth employment rates exceeded 40% in Ottawa-Hull, Toronto, Calgary and Vancouver.[8]

Disparities between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth in employment and labour market participation rates diminish or disappear among youth with higher levels of education. Nationally, an Aboriginal youth with less than high school is 70% as likely to participate in the labour market, and 52% as likely to be employed, as a non-Aboriginal youth with equivalent education. The odds increase to 88% and 77% for high school completers, and 94% and 80% for those with a post-secondary certificate. Aboriginal youth with a university degree are 107% as likely as non-Aboriginal youth to participate in the labour market, and 95% as likely to be employed.[9] However, the Aboriginal unemployment rate is higher at all levels of education.

Those Aboriginal youth who reported full time, full year (FTFY) employment in the year preceding the Census did so at rates of pay very similar to non-Aboriginal youth – 98% off reserve and 96% overall. However, only 5.1% of Manitoba Aboriginal youth did work FTFY; and Aboriginal youth were only 37% as likely as non-Aboriginal youth to be employed on this basis. This rose to 60% as likely in Winnipeg, where 8% of Aboriginal youth worked FTFY.[10]

Youth employment by industry sector varies according to location. Generally speaking, 15% of employed Aboriginal youth are in the public sector, and only 8% of non-Aboriginal youth. On reserve, however, 35% of employed youth are in the public sector, mostly band offices and schools. Aboriginal youth are also more likely to be employed in the public sector in off reserve rural areas. But the differential between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth public sector employment disappears in urban areas. While urban Aboriginal youth are more likely to be employed by federal, provincial or municipal governments, they are less likely to be employed in public education or health.[11]

CONFLICT WITH THE LAW

According to a September 2000 article in a national newspaper, there are an estimated 37 gangs in Manitoba, with 1,896 active members, as well as 1,239 "inactive members" who have had no police contact for at least two years.[12] This appears to be a greater number of gang members than any other province including Ontario or Quebec (though no estimate is available for British Columbia). But the Manitoba gang activity, much more than any other province, is largely street gangs who actively recruit members, as opposed to biker or mob gangs which limit their inner circle. So the numbers may be misleading in terms of the scale of gang-related activity.

According to a spokesperson from the Winnipeg Police Service Street Gang Unit, the street gangs are mistakenly identified as native youth gangs: " 'There is no such thing as a native gang. There is no such thing as a youth gang,' he said, noting most members are adults between 21 and 24 and none of the gangs are exclusively ethnic or racially based." [13]

Large numbers of members of prominent gangs such as the Indian Posse and the Manitoba Warriors are, however, Aboriginal youth aged 15-29. A number of native organizations exist for the purpose of trying to prevent Aboriginal youth from joining gangs, and supporting Aboriginal people attempting to leave gangs. It would appear that a significant minority of Winnipeg's Aboriginal youth population is involved with gangs, but it is difficult to estimate the size of this group.

Agency and youth respondents at focus groups for the Canadian Red Cross Society's 1995 "Vulnerable Youth Needs Assessment" observed that:

> Gangs often meet the needs of youth that are not being met at home. Gangs provide a type of family, a sense of belonging, and ironically, a sense of safety. In youth discussions, some commented that gangs were there for them when no one else was; when they were on their own, gangs provided food, money, a place to stay, and friendship. These youth soon realized, however, that they were then expected to participate in criminal and violent activity by the gang. Several respondents that work with high-risk youth say the gang forced their clients into pushing drugs and prostitution.[14]

Aboriginal youth, whether gang-affiliated or not, are far more likely to run afoul of the law. For Aboriginal youth aged 12-17, there were a total of 1,263 admissions to youth correctional facilities in 1997/98 (some youth were admitted more than once). This represented over 70% of all admissions to remand. Controlling for population, Clatworthy and Mendelson (1999) had estimated that youths were 12.4 times as likely to be admitted to a youth facility if they were Aboriginal (22.4 times as likely if female). Older youth aged 20-24 were calculated to be 11 times as likely to be admitted to a provincial adult correctional facility if Aboriginal.[15]

CHAPTER FIVE: JUSTICE

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS OF THE ABORIGINAL JUSTICE INQUIRY

According to information compiled by Indian Affairs and the RCMP, and summarized in the 1991 report of Manitoba's Aboriginal Justice Inquiry (AJI), Indian reserves in Manitoba and Canada in 1990 had rates of reported crime of 1.5 to 1.8 times the provincial and national rates.[1] These were average figures, of course. Crime rates vary widely among First Nations; with some being unsafe and others having crime rates less than the provincial average.

Aboriginal crime rates off reserve cannot be quantified, since a crime rate by definition relates to a geographic area and includes large numbers of "unsolved" crimes. The federal Solicitor General Canada department estimates that "70% of all Aboriginal people sentenced to penitentiaries are either residents of urban (non-reserve) communities, or committed their offences while off reserve." This is not significantly different from the national off-reserve Aboriginal demographic.[2]

Therefore, the limited empirical evidence that exists suggests that, broadly speaking, Aboriginal crime rates, encompassing all manner of reported Criminal Code and statutory violations, are something less than twice average non-Aboriginal crime rates.

The AJI also found that Aboriginal people in 1990 comprised over half of all inmates in Manitoba's provincial and federal correctional institutions, and conservatively estimated that Aboriginal adults in Manitoba were six times as likely to be incarcerated as non-Aboriginal adults.

The difference between the crime and incarceration rates is the result of a series of individual decisions made at each stage of the process, between the time a crime is reported to police, and the time when an Aboriginal person is released from prison after having been convicted of that crime. The AJI defined "systemic discrimination" as "the application of a standard or criterion, or the use of a 'standard practice,' [which] creates an adverse impact upon an identifiable group that is not consciously intended."[3]

The Inquiry found that Aboriginal individuals sent before Provincial Court faced, on average, 25% more charges than non-Aboriginal people did, with 22% of Aboriginal people facing four charges or more. They were, on average, 1.34 times as likely to be held in pre-trial detention. Aboriginal women were 2.4 times as likely to be held as non-Aboriginal women. Overall, the AJI found that "Aboriginal detainees had a 21% chance of being granted bail, while non-Aboriginal detainees had a 56% chance."[4]

Aboriginal people spent, on average, 1.5 times as long in pre-trial detention province-wide. In Winnipeg, the average detention was two times as long as for non-Aboriginal people, and in Thompson 6.5 times as long. Aboriginal youth under 18 years in pre-trial detention were held an average of 29.3 days, compared to 10.8 days for non-Aboriginal youth.

Aboriginal inmates were found to have spent far less time with their lawyers before and during their trials, especially when trials were conducted in remote communities by the fly-in circuit courts. In many cases, persons with an Aboriginal first language were unable to communicate effectively with police and lawyers, or to follow court proceedings. Having interpreters present only partly alleviates this difficulty, because many Canadian legal words and concepts do not translate well into Aboriginal languages.

The AJI identified a number of informal factors that may militate against Aboriginal people in court. For example, each court case typically involves a number of court appearances at which the case is remanded to a future date. When these appearances do not occur in the accused's community, this may involve costly travel from remote communities for the accused and any witnesses who need to attend. Costs are not reimbursed, and failure to appear can add to the accused's legal troubles.

Legal Aid will cover legal expenses only where the charge potentially leads to imprisonment or loss of employment. Therefore, "many Aboriginal people appear to have developed a record of relatively minor offences prior to their first incarceration."[5] These prior offences are considered at sentencing hearings.

Further, in those serious cases heard before the Court of Queen's Bench, Aboriginal citizens are less likely to be called to form part of a jury panel and, if called, are far more likely to be "eliminated by stand-asides and challenges advanced by lawyers." Jury trials are heard in only six Manitoba communities (none of which are Aboriginal).[6] Aboriginal accused will likely face non-Aboriginal juries, as well as judge and lawyers.

Aboriginal people before Provincial Court pleaded guilty in 60% of cases, compared to 50% for non-Aboriginal people. If convicted, they were 2.5 times more likely to be sentenced to some form of incarceration. Aboriginal women were more than five times as likely to be incarcerated as non-Aboriginal female offenders.

In bail and sentencing hearings, judges may take employment and income status into account. With less access to employment, Aboriginal people are more likely to be considered a flight risk, and less likely to have a steady employment history or the effect of a loss of employment upon dependants factored into the judge's decision. The AJI linked pre-trial detention to "more convictions and harsher sentences, as the sentencing judge already knows that the police and, in many cases, another judge have found the offender should be in jail."[7] Figures from 1996 show that, nationally, 70% of Aboriginal inmates in provincial jails were not employed at the time of arrest, as compared to 47% of non-Aboriginal inmates.[8]

Also, at the time the AJI reported, fine defaulters made up about 25% of the prison populations at any given time, and 60% of fine defaulters admitted to jails were Aboriginal.[9] Again, Aboriginal men who defaulted on fines were twice as likely to be incarcerated as their non-Aboriginal counterparts, and Aboriginal women were more than three times as likely. The average amount of the fine defaulted was $201.20, and the average length of the resulting incarceration was 23 days.[10]

The court and inmate records examined by the AJI showed no difference between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal offenders in the average number of previous convictions, which might otherwise have explained differences in the length of incarceration. Nor were the number or seriousness of charges found to adequately explain the difference in incarceration rates.[11]

HISTORICAL INCARCERATION RATES

Having examined historical reports to Parliament made by the Superintendent of Penitentiaries, the AJI found that:

> ...The proportion of "Indians" and of "Indian half-breeds," and of the other various equivalent designations that appeared in the reports for 1900, 1913, 1932-33, 1934-35 and annually until the 1949-50 report, in the Manitoba penitentiary population reflected no more than the Aboriginal proportion of the Manitoba population in this period. The Aboriginal proportion of the Manitoba penitentiary population increased in an extraordinary fashion during the decades after 1950.[12]

By 1965, Aboriginal people comprised 22% of inmates at the Stony Mountain federal penitentiary. This increased to 33% in 1984 and 46% in 1989. In that same year, the Aboriginal portion of the population in all Provincial institutions was 57%. At the Portage Correctional Institute for Women, 67% of inmates were Aboriginal, and 61% in institutions for young people. Over all, 56% of inmates in federal and provincial institutions were Aboriginal in 1989.[13]

According to the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, the national numbers of sentenced admissions to custody peaked in 1992-93 after a decade of growth, and have since declined on a year-to-year basis due to reductions in the numbers of adults charged. This is linked to decreasing crime rates in the 1990's. However, the incarceration rate per 10,000 adults charged has continued to increase during the 1990s. Further:

> The over-representation of Aboriginal persons in the federal prison population is worsening. Aboriginal persons accounted for 11% of admissions to federal penitentiaries in 1991-92, 15% in 1996-97 and 17% in 1997-98. (Aboriginal persons represent 2% of the adult population in Canada.)[14]

In Manitoba, where Aboriginal persons comprised 9% of the adult population, they accounted for 61% of sentenced admissions[15] to federal or provincial custody in 1997-98, up from 55% in 1995-96. This compared to 72% in Saskatchewan (which had a similar demographic), 39% in Alberta, 16% in British Columbia., and under 10% in other provinces.

On October 5, 1996, when the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics conducted a one-day "snapshot" of all inmates on-register in federal and provincial adult correctional facilities, 61% of inmates in Manitoba were Aboriginal.[16] This figure was higher than the 55% of admissions in 1995-96, for the reason that Aboriginal inmates were serving, on average, longer sentences with less chance of early release.

If trends observed in the mid-1990s have continued, the current self-identified Aboriginal proportion of the prison population in Manitoba is probably close to 70%. In short, the past 50 years have seen the Aboriginal portion of the prison population in Manitoba rise, approximately, from 10% to 70%.[17]

Among the female prison population, Aboriginal over-representation has been even greater. The AJI reported, quoting a study done by the Elizabeth Fry Society, that 71% of Manitoba female inmate population in the early 1980s was Aboriginal. By 1988, this had risen to 85%.

> The situation at Portage is not unique. In Saskatchewan, it has been estimated that treaty Indian women are 131 times more likely to be incarcerated than non-Aboriginal women are, while Metis women are 28 times more likely to be incarcerated. ...Statistics collected by the Portage Correctional Institute for Women show that at least 80% of the inmates had suffered either physical or sexual abuse; 40% reported both.[18]

Another trend in the 1990s has been the increasing prevalence of street gang activities in prison. The Hughes Report on the 1996 riot at Headingley observed that the "gang problem" emerged very rapidly in the period from 1992 to 1994. "Members of these gangs, especially the Indian Posse and Manitoba Warriors, actively and often violently recruit new members while incarcerated..."[19]

ALTERNATIVES TO INCARCERATION

In 1997-98, the average cost to keep an inmate in a Manitoba provincial facility was $101.73 per day, and in federal penitentiaries, $128.35 per day (respectively, $37,130 and $46,850 per year).[20] These were operating expenses only, largely salaries and benefits of corrections officers and support staff, and did not include the capital costs of prisons, nor the operating costs of police, courts, prosecution or legal aid.

During the 1990s, there has been increasing interest by both federal and provincial officials in reducing incarceration rates, especially for Aboriginal people, by developing and encouraging alternative sentencing. According to Solicitor General Canada:

> Canada's incarceration rate is higher than most other Western democracies. We imprison 129 out of every 100,000 of our citizens. While this is less than some countries such as the United States (645), it's above countries such as France (110), England (104), Germany (95), Austria (86) and Norway (84). ...But adult Aboriginal people are incarcerated more than eight times the national rate. In Saskatchewan, the adult Aboriginal incarceration rate is over 1,600 per 100,000, compared to 48 per 100,000 for adult non-Aboriginals.[21]

In September 1996, federal Bill C-41 created a new sentencing disposition, called "The Conditional Sentence of Imprisonment," available to courts in the case of "low risk offenders" sentenced to less than two years. Once a sentence to imprisonment has been made, the court may order that the offender serve this sentence in the community under supervision, provided that certain conditions are met. Bill C-41 also introduced alternative measures for community supervision of offenders. The intent of the Bill was to reduce provincial and territorial admissions to prisons, and therefore reduce prison populations.[22]

Alternatives to incarceration for low risk offenders include:
- Restitution to victims,
- Community service orders,
- Mediation services, and
- Electronic monitoring (in use, for example, in Saskatchewan).

Alternatives to incarceration based upon traditional First Nations and Metis justice practices fall under the general rubric of "Restorative Justice." These include:

- Victim and offender mediation,
- Circle sentencing,
- Family group conferencing, and
- Community sentencing panels.[23]

Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics data indicate that, nationally, prison admissions declined by 8% from 1995-96 to 1997-98, while admissions to community-based sanctions increased by 3%. Also, prison admissions for fine default decreased by 24% from 1996-97 to 1997-98. In Manitoba, just 208 persons were imprisoned for fine default in 1997-98, a decrease of 77% from the previous year. Also in 1997-98, 526 conditional sentences were imposed, indicating that this new sentencing disposition is being used to reduce the rate of imprisonment for fine defaults, and to substitute community-based sanctions.[24]

As a final note, increased use of conditional and other community-based sentencing not specifically targeted at Aboriginal people does not necessarily decrease the Aboriginal portion of the prison population. In fact, to the extent that Aboriginal offenders are disproportionately convicted of offences against the person as opposed to property, or deemed by correctional authorities to be at high risk to re-offend, then the increased use of community sanctions for non-violent or low risk offenders will actually increase the relative incarceration rate of Aboriginal people. This may account for part of the observed increase in this rate during the 1990s.

The Province of Manitoba provides funding for a number of Restorative Justice initiatives, including the Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak (MKO) First Nations Justice Strategy, the St. Theresa Point Aboriginal Youth Court, the Hollow Water Community Holistic Circle Healing Project, the Aboriginal Ganootamaage Justice Services of Winnipeg, and mediation services in Winnipeg, Brandon and Thompson. A number of these initiatives are cost-shared with the federal government.

CHAPTER SIX: LABOUR AND INCOME

The Labour Force Survey (LFS) conducted and reported monthly by Statistics Canada is the most commonly cited source for key labour market indicators. Its July 2000 report shows Canada-wide unemployment rates falling steadily from 9.5% in January 1997 to less than 7% in each month in 2000. Total employment has increased from 13.6 million to 14.9 million. At 5.1%, Manitoba had the lowest unemployment rate of any province in July 2000, and its employment rate of 64.5% was second only to Alberta at 67.8%.[1]

However, the Labour Force Survey excludes on-reserve Status Indians, and does not distinguish between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in off-reserve settings.[2] For Aboriginal people, the five-year census provides the best snapshot of labour market characteristics.

As with previous censuses, the 1996 Census clearly showed that Aboriginal people were, on average, less likely than other Manitobans to participate in the labour market. Where they did participate, they were much more likely to be unemployed—that is not working but actively looking for work. Where they were working, employment was more likely to be intermittent and not secure, and average yearly wages were considerably below average.

THE ABORIGINAL LABOUR FORCE

Overall, Manitoba's labour market participation rate of Aboriginal adults aged 15 and over was 54.1% in 1996. This was down from 59.6% in 1991, though part of the difference was the more restricted "Aboriginal-identity" group captured by the 1996 Census. The census whose wording most closely related to the most recent wording was 1981.[3] In that year, the labour market participation rate was 55.9%. Therefore, there was no indication of an increase in Aboriginal labour market participation from 1981 to 1996.

The 1996 Aboriginal unemployment rate was 25.3%. This is up from 20.0% in 1991 and 23.9% in 1981.[4] Therefore, the employment rate has fluctuated from 42.5% in 1981, to 47.7% in 1991, to 40.4% in 1996. Deficiencies in the 1991 data may account for the apparent "spike" in the 1991 rate. There is no evidence of improvement in Aboriginal labour market statistics in 1981 to 1996, and there may have been some deterioration.

The Aboriginal unemployment rate in Manitoba in 1996 was 325% that of the total population. The national relative unemployment ratio was 243%, and only in Saskatchewan was the ratio higher, at 361%. Similarly, Manitoba had the second lowest relative participation rate among the provinces.

Aboriginal people were 81% as likely as the total population to participate in the labour market, compared to a Canadian average of 90% as likely.[5]

Aboriginal unemployment rates are higher at all levels of education. College completion for Aboriginal people has little effect on their unemployment rate (18%) as compared to high school completers (19.7%), so that the increased employment rate among college graduates is due to higher labour market participation (80% vs. 71% for high school completers). Even among the relatively few Aboriginal university graduates, the unemployment rate is 9.8%—two and a half times the rate for non-Aboriginal alumnae. The unemployment rate for Aboriginal alumnae is still almost twice as high as for non-Aboriginal people who have merely completed high school (5.5%).

However, Aboriginal labour market participation rates increase with level of education, to the point that Aboriginal people who have completed college or university are actually more likely to participate than non-Aboriginal people of equivalent education. Higher education helps close the employment gap for Aboriginal people only because it is associated with increased labour market participation. The relative employment odds for Aboriginal people versus non-Aboriginal people are 79.4% for high school graduates, 87.8% for college graduates, and 98.8% for university graduates.

The actual number of unemployed people in Manitoba in 1996 who identified themselves as Aboriginal was 11,065. The number was large in comparison with the Aboriginal labour force, but small as a percentage of the total Canadian unemployed population. In no province or territory did the number of unemployed Aboriginal people exceed 15,000[6] (based on the standard definition of unemployment).

It will be a significant public challenge merely to maintain current Aboriginal employment rates in coming years, due to the large numbers of young Aboriginal people entering the labour market. A 1998 Conference Board of Canada report[7] estimated that an additional 160,000 Aboriginal people would need to find work by 2006 to maintain employment levels–a 50% in increase in the number employed. The report added that Manitoba and Saskatchewan would be particularly challenged, due to larger Aboriginal relative to total population, and lower projected job creation than other provinces such as British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario.

On the other hand, Manitoba's recent job creation record has been strong, unemployment is now the lowest among the 10 provinces, and its Aboriginal labour force is the province's most under-utilized human resource. There is nothing inevitable about this. About 50% of current employees of Northwest Company are Aboriginal, as are 14% of Syncrude employees in northeast Alberta–a proportion exceeding the local share of the population.[8]

The 1991 Aboriginal Peoples' Survey asked respondents about problems they encountered in looking for work. Nationally, 77% of Metis and 80% of North American Indians indicated they encountered one or more problems. The most frequently cited problem was that there were few or no jobs in the area where they lived (62% of Metis and 66% of First Nations). Also, 42% of Metis and 41% of Indians said their education or work experience did not match the available jobs, and 22% of Metis and 27% of Indians said they did not have enough information about available jobs. Eighteen per cent of Indians and 11.5% of Metis said "being an Aboriginal person" was a problem in finding jobs, and about 15% of women said they could not find anyone to look after children while they searched for jobs.[9]

It is important to understand that labour market indicators vary significantly for Aboriginal people depending on group and location. Studies showing higher labour market participation and lower unemployment off reserve than on reserve tell only part of the story, because the off-reserve component includes Metis as well as Status Indians, and both urban and rural off-reserve locations. National studies of this type do not apply in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The difference between on and off-reserve indicators in these two provinces is less than in other provinces,[10] and disappears entirely when we look at just the Metis, or just Status Indians.

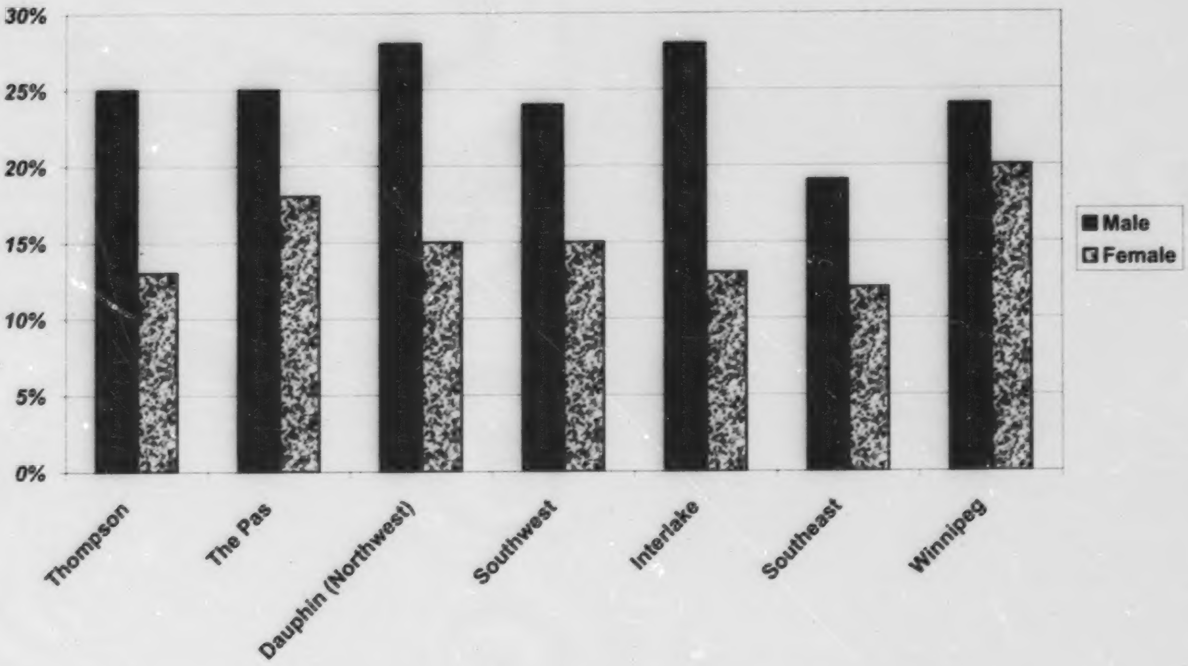
METIS LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

On many socio-economic variables, Metis people rank somewhere between the mainstream population and First Nations. Labour market participation is one variable where the Metis resemble non-Aboriginal more than First Nations people. In Manitoba as a whole, the labour market participation rate for adults over the age of 15 years was 66.4% at the time of the 1996 Census. The Metis rate was 65.4%, while among registered Indians the participation rate was 46.9%. Metis youth and adults in Manitoba participate in the labour market in numbers not substantially different from non-Aboriginal people (67.7%).[11]

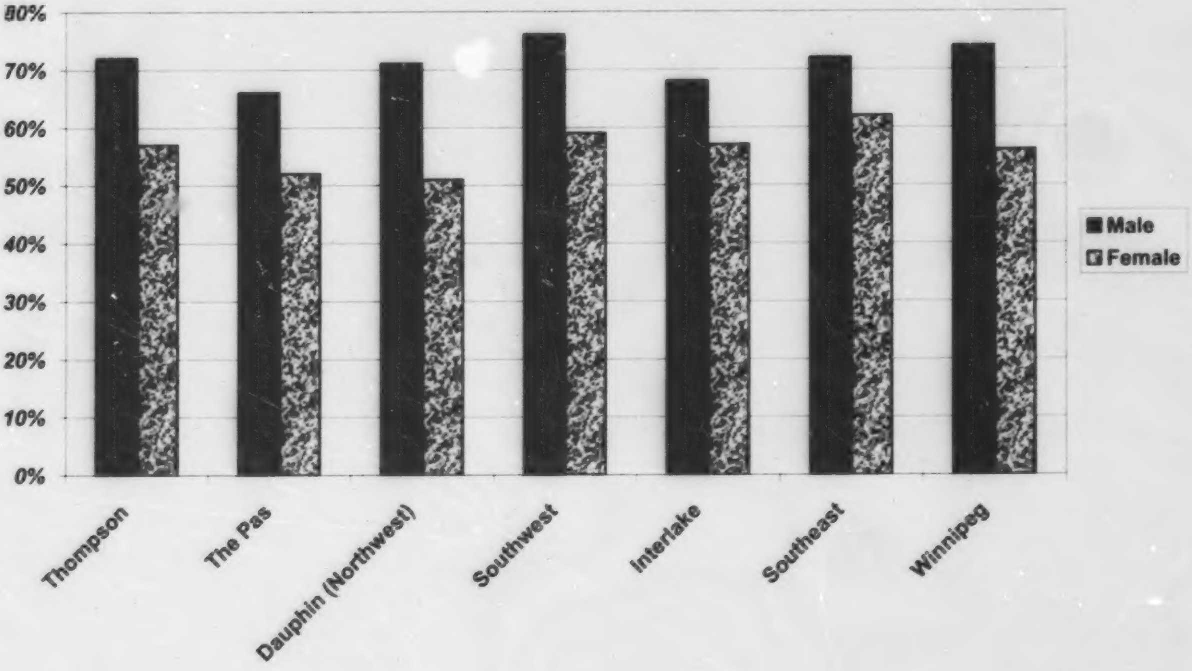
However, the Metis unemployment rate in 1996 was 19.7%, approximately three times the non-Aboriginal unemployment rate of 6.4%. As a result only 52.5% of the adult Metis population was actually employed or self-employed at the time of the census, compared to 63.3% of the non-Aboriginal population. The high unemployment rate does not appear to discourage this group from seeking to participate in the labour market – there is little evidence of the "discouraged worker" among Metis.[12]

In southern Manitoba outside Winnipeg, the Metis participation rate actually appears to exceed the non-Aboriginal rate: 68.1% versus 67.7%. But the Metis unemployment rate was again more than three times the non-Aboriginal rate: 17% versus 5.1%. The story is similar in Winnipeg, where the participation rate is a little lower and the unemployment rate a little higher: 66% and 20.4% for Metis aged 15 and over. For Metis women in particular, the unemployment rate is significantly higher inside Winnipeg than outside.

The employment situation for the Metis is worse in the north. Here only 59.1% of Metis youth and adults participated in the labour market, of whom fully 23.4% were unemployed in 1996. This was compared to 73.4% and 5.9% for non-Aboriginal people, and 46.7% and 29.9% for Status Indians. In northern Manitoba, there was more similarity between Status and Metis labour market patterns than there was in the south or in Winnipeg.



Unemployment Rates of Metis-identity Population Aged 15+ by MMF Region, 1996



Labour Market Participation Rates of Metis-identity Population Aged 15+ by MMF Region, 1996

As we have seen, of the minority of Metis people who reside in the north (19%) about half are in small communities, often adjacent to First Nations. These communities share with their neighbours the same structural economic problem: the lack of an economic base sufficient to employ more than a minority of the potential labour market force. The employment rate for Metis aged 15 and over in Northern Manitoba is 45.2%, compared to 69.1% for non-Aboriginal people and 32.7% for registered Indians.

Metis women are less likely to participate in the labour market than are men: 57.7% versus 73.2%. The 15% differential between male and female rates is similar to the differential for non-Aboriginal people (61% vs. 75%) and for Status Indians (40% vs. 54%). However, Metis women who did participate in the labour market reported considerably lower unemployment in 1996 than did Metis men: 16.2% vs. 22.5%.

For the Metis, as for other groups, education is a powerful determinant of labour market participation and employment/self-employment rates. A Manitoba literacy survey undertaken by the Metis National Council found that, of high school graduates with or without post-secondary education, between 55% and 70% were employed at the time of the survey, and 70% to 80% were labour market participants. The majority of those not in the labour market indicated they were attending school.

By contrast, of those with Grade Nine to Eleven, about 30% were employed and 64% participated; thus, their unemployment rate exceeded 50%. Of those with less than Grade Nine, only about 16% were employed and 32% participated, though it must be noted out that a large number in this group were retired.[13]

FIRST NATIONS LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION

It is frequently assumed that the burgeoning Aboriginal population in Winnipeg and other western cities is the result of employment and income prospects in the cities drawing workers from rural and northern reserves where few jobs are available. However, we have already noted that there is no evidence of a net migration trend to Winnipeg during the 1990s. In fact, there has been a small net out-migration from Winnipeg to reserves.

Labour force statistics from the 1996 Census show why. Among Status Indians aged 15 and over and residing in Winnipeg, less than 30% were employed at the time of the census. Only 45.6% of respondents reported labour market participation, a figure 20% lower than either the non-Aboriginal or Metis work force. Of these workers, 34.7% were unemployed and looking for work. That was almost five times the unemployment rate of non-Aboriginal people. For Status Indians in Winnipeg, there was definite evidence of a "discouraged worker" effect in 1996, as evidenced by the low labour market participation rate.

By way of comparison, the labour market participation rate of Status Indians on reserve was 45.7% - exactly equal to the Winnipeg number. Of these, 30% were unemployed at the time of the Census, or 4.7% less than in Winnipeg. As a result the employment rate on reserve was 32%, or 2.3% higher than in Winnipeg. Therefore, Winnipeg's economy, as related to First Nations people, was unlikely to act as a magnet for job seekers from reserves.[14]

In fact, the employment situation of the Status Indian population in Winnipeg is dire. While 37.4% of non-Aboriginal people aged 15 and over were not employed, most would have been in school or retired. Some (though less than in previous years) were full-time homemakers. By contrast, 70.3% of Status Indians aged 15 and over were not employed– of these, fewer were of an age to retire, fewer in school, and fewer still in two-parent families able to exist on one income.

Also, contrary to common belief, there was little overall difference between employment figures for northern and southern reserves. The average employment rate for Status people living in northern reserves was 31.7%, compared to 33.3% in southern reserves. The northern participation rate was 45.8%, compared to 45.7% in the south; and the unemployment rate 30.8%, compared to 27.2%. Proportionally, numbers dependent on social assistance on southern reserves actually exceeded those in the north. Not to say there was not a great deal of variety in employment situations among individual northern or southern reserves.

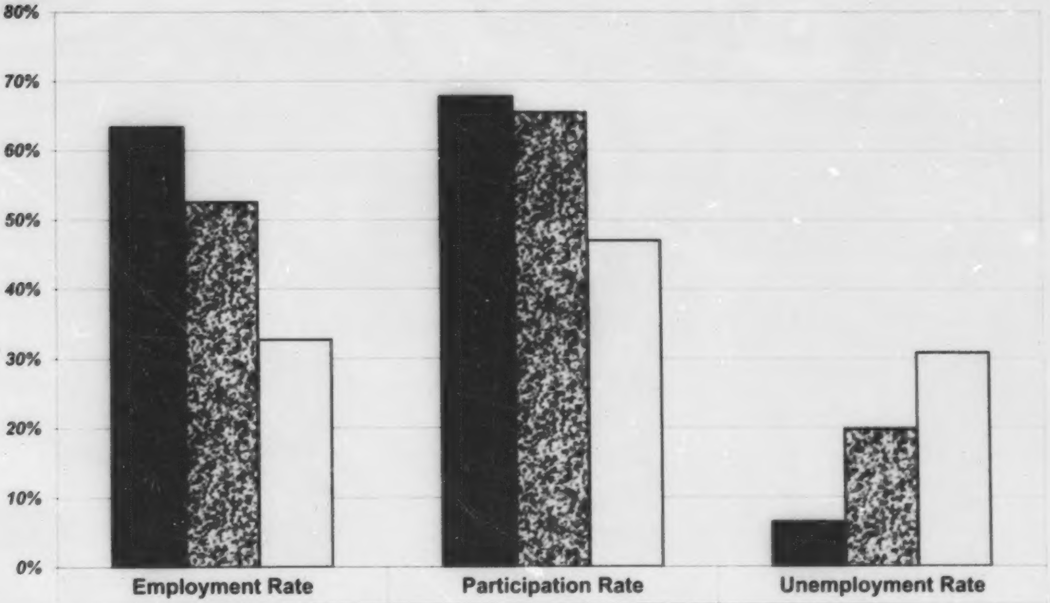
The highest employment rates for Status Indians are found off reserve outside Winnipeg: 37.9% in the north and 39.9% in the south. Unemployment rates are also lower. This does not necessarily mean job prospects are better in places like Thompson, Brandon or The Pas than they are in Winnipeg or on reserve. There are very high net mobility rates from off-reserve locations to Winnipeg and to reserves, and very high gross mobility rates. It appears that many people may be moving to these areas to find employment, and moving back when employment ends–thereby "exporting unemployment" from off-reserve areas outside Winnipeg.

Also, because income levels and participation and employment rates have traditionally been higher for Status Indians in these areas than in Winnipeg or on reserve, their continued exodus from these areas to reserves and to Winnipeg has the result that off-reserve labour market indicators are deteriorating. The traditional difference between on and off-reserve labour market indicators for Status Indians is steadily shrinking.

In short, there is little demonstrable difference in the overall employment and unemployment situations for Status Indians inside or outside Winnipeg, on or off reserve, or between northern and southern parts of the province. High unemployment and intermittent employment generally increase mobility rates for this population, particularly off reserve, but there is little structural economic reason to move in any one direction as opposed to any other.

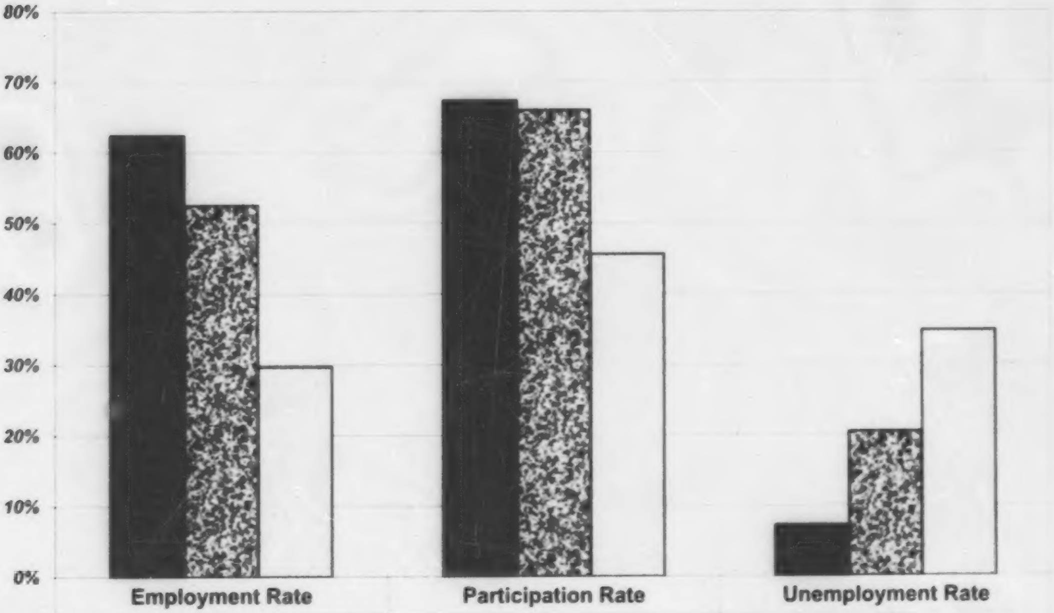
On reserve, employment rates for women and men are unusually similar: 31% for women and 33% for men. As elsewhere, women on reserve are less likely than men to participate in the labour force (40% vs. 51%), but report much lower levels of unemployment than do men (22% vs. 36%). This may be because many of the Band-administered functions are in fields where women are disproportionately represented, such as health, education, and office administration.

Labour Force Statistics for Manitoba 1996



	Employment Rate	Participation Rate	Unemployment Rate
■ Non-Aboriginal	63%	68%	6%
▨ Metis	53%	65%	20%
☐ First Nations	33%	47%	31%

Labour Force Statistics for Winnipeg 1996



	Employment Rate	Participation Rate	Unemployment Rate
■ Non-Aboriginal	62%	67%	7%
▨ Metis	53%	66%	20%
☐ First Nations	30%	46%	35%

Status women in Winnipeg maintain similar labour market attachment as women on reserve (39%), but report much higher unemployment (32%). Therefore the employment rate drops to 26%, compared to 31% on reserve. Status women of working age live off reserve in disproportionate numbers, but apparently not for employment-related reasons.

By contrast, labour market participation and employment rates for Status men in Winnipeg are slightly higher in Winnipeg than on reserve. The unemployment rate for men is about the same in both contexts: 36% on reserve and 37% in Winnipeg.

SELF-EMPLOYMENT

Between 1981 and 1996, the number of self-employed Aboriginal people in Manitoba has grown by about seven percent per year, more than twice as fast as the Canadian average. Aboriginal self-employment has also risen twice as fast as Aboriginal employment in general. It has been estimated that one in four new Aboriginal jobs created since 1981 have been the result of the rise in self-employment. About 46% of Aboriginal businesses hire additional full-time workers.[15]

In 1996, there were 2,355 self-employed Aboriginal people in Manitoba, or about 3% of the population aged 15 and over Of these, 1,520 or 65% were Metis, and another 790 were First Nations, both on reserve (355) and off (435). Therefore, Metis are about four times as likely to be self-employed as First Nations people are. About 60% of Aboriginal-owned businesses are located in rural Manitoba. Over one third of self-employed Aboriginal people are female, a much higher proportion than in the general population.[16]

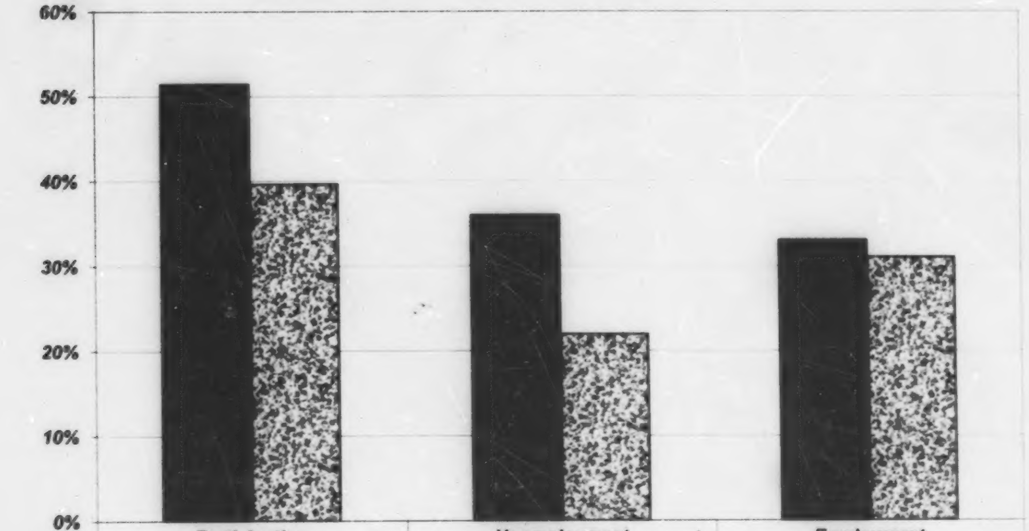
While the percentage of Aboriginal adults who are self-employed is still only half the Canadian average, the number of young Aboriginal people under 30 who are self-employed is rising rapidly. By 1996, the proportion of Aboriginal workers in this age group who are self-employed was higher than that for all Canadian youth.[17]

By industry sector, 15.5% of self-employed Aboriginal people were in retail and wholesale trade, 14.6% in fishing and trapping, 13.7% in construction, and 10.1% in agriculture. In other sectors, fewer Aboriginal people were self-employed.[18]

There exists an array of Aboriginal development corporations, affiliated with Tribal Councils and the Manitoba Metis Federation, that provide start-up assistance for businesses. As well, direct government assistance is available through Manitoba Industry, Trade & Tourism, and Aboriginal Business Canada (ABC), an arm of the federal Industry department. A 1996 national study of businesses assisted by ABC found that:

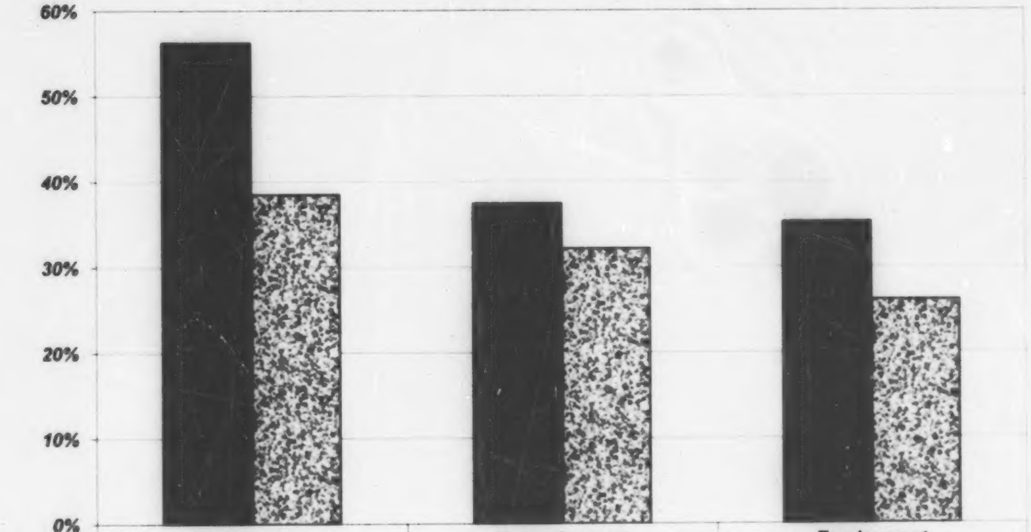
> Based on the total assistance provided to both active and closed firms, the cost per full-time job is $28,388 ...17.4% of assisted businesses achieved a significant profit [and] 19.4% achieved a small profit ...Viability varies substantially among industry sectors. The strongest results were achieved in business services (67.6%), construction (63.4%), retail trade (61.0%), and transportation (57.6%).[19]

On Reserve Labour Market Participation, By Gender, 1996



	Participation	Unemployment	Employment
■ Male	51%	36%	33%
▨ Female	40%	22%	31%

Winnipeg First Nations Labour Market Participation, By Gender, 1996



	Participation	Unemployment	Employment
■ Male	56%	37%	35%
▨ Female	39%	32%	26%

However, most self-employed Aboriginal people used neither development corporations nor government assistance to finance their business start-ups. According to information compiled in the Aboriginal Peoples' Survey, 70% of Metis and 66% of First Nations people who owned their own businesses in 1991 were self-funded, or received funding from family and friends. 30% of Metis and 24% of First Nations people went to a bank or trust company. More First Nations people than Metis were financed through an Aboriginal development company (12% vs. 5.5%) or through the federal government (5.6% vs. 3%), while Metis were more likely to receive assistance through the provincial government (7% vs. 3%).[20]

EMPLOYMENT AND TRANSFER INCOME

Because of lower employment rates, Aboriginal people are six times more likely to be dependent on government transfer payments, especially social assistance. According to 1996 Census data, government transfers were the major source of income for 30.8% of Aboriginal people in Manitoba aged 15+, as compared to just 5.1% of non-Aboriginal people.

There were differences among Aboriginal groups, corresponding to differences in employment rates. Government transfers were the major source of income for 20.1% of Metis and 37.5% of registered Indians. Employment was the major source of income for 64.1% of non-Aboriginal people, 56.8% of Metis, and 36.4% of registered Indians.

Employment was the major source of income for 35.6% of Status Indians on reserve, and for 33.4% in Winnipeg. Government transfers accounted for 40.2% on reserve and 39.9% in Winnipeg. For Status Indian families, whether on reserve or in Winnipeg, approximately as many families relied on transfers as employment. The highest local rates of dependence on government transfers were found among Status women living in Winnipeg (43.8%), and among Status residents of southern reserves whether female (46.3%) or male (42.5%).

In 1996, the median individual income[21] for non-Aboriginal people aged 15 and over, including all sources of income, was $18,258. For Metis the median income was $12,219, for Non-Status Indians $10,620, and for Status Indians $8,029. For Status Indians in Winnipeg, the median income was $8,850, off reserve outside Winnipeg $9,714, and on reserve $6,755.

One reason these income figures are so low is that only one third of Aboriginal people reporting employment income worked full time, full year (FTFY) in 1995, compared to half of the total population. Nationally, the average (not median) income of FTFY Aboriginal workers was $29,684, 21% lower than the national average,[22] but much higher than the majority of Aboriginal people, who were supported by intermittent or part-time employment and/or social assistance.

For the Metis, there was little difference in median income inside or outside Winnipeg ($12,263 in Winnipeg). Due to the higher cost of living in Winnipeg, the average Metis person had a lower standard of living in Winnipeg than outside (see below).

The median income for non-Aboriginal women was $14,238, or 57.5% of the median male income of $24,751. The gap between male and female incomes is far less for Aboriginal people. Province-wide, the median Aboriginal female income is $8,977, or 83.8% of the median male income of $10,717.

In Winnipeg, the median income of Status women actually exceeds that of Status men: $8,996 vs. $8,410. This highly unusual statistic reflects the large numbers of single mothers on social assistance, at rates unavoidably exceeding average amounts earned through employment. The median income of Status men in Winnipeg, from all sources, is less than one third that of non-Aboriginal men ($8,410 vs. $25,797).

SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

When we speak of a low-income household whose major source of income is government transfers, this household almost certainly is relying either on social assistance or on various old age benefits. While the net effect of government transfers is a redistribution of income toward the lower income sectors, individual government transfer programs differ greatly in their redistributive effect.

In 1991, 13% of Canadian households received income under the Statistics Canada low-income cut-off (LICO). These households received 68% of social assistance expenditures,[23] 38% of child tax credits and 26% of OAS/GIS/SPA (old age) benefits. However, they received just 14.5% of Canada/Quebec pension plan benefits, and 11.5% of Unemployment Insurance benefits.[23] Child tax credits are not a primary source of income, and few Aboriginal people are over age 65. For the vast majority of Aboriginal people, dependence on government transfers means dependence on social assistance, supplied through the Province off reserve and the federal department of Indian Affairs on reserve.

More individuals and families receive social assistance at some point during the year than the number who indicate on the census that transfer payments are their primary source of income year-round. On reserve in Manitoba in 1996, 35.6% told the census that transfers were their primary source of income. However, the 1995 Indian Affairs social assistance rate on reserve in Manitoba, "defined as the monthly average number of beneficiaries divided by the total on-reserve population for that year,"[25] was about 53%. In other words, in any given month, 53% of on-reserve families are on social assistance for at least part of the month.

INAC social assistance dependency rates vary widely across the country, from 20-30% in Quebec, Ontario and Yukon, to 48-58% in the four western provinces, to a high of almost 75% in the Atlantic Provinces. These rates, on a national basis, have been increasing each year, from a national average of 35% in 1982 to 45% in 1994. Because the on-reserve population is also growing rapidly, national expenditures have almost doubled. These trends are expected to continue in the foreseeable future.

However, while Manitoba has one of the higher on-reserve social assistance dependency rates, it has seen little or no increase in this rate since the early 1980s. Manitoba's rate fell from 59% to 50% in 1981-83 and, since then, has fluctuated around 55% every year. Increases in the total number of recipients have mirrored increases in the overall on-reserve population, and there is little reason to believe Manitoba's rate will increase between now and 2010.

By contrast, very high rates of increase in social assistance dependency have occurred in some other provinces, especially Alberta where the rate increased from under 30% to over 50% between 1982 and 1994. The Alberta rate is forecast to surpass Manitoba/Saskatchewan rates between now and 2010. British Columbia is also expected to increase its dependency rate. The rate in Atlantic Canada, already extremely high, is forecast to increase to over 85%.[26]

INCOME ADEQUACY

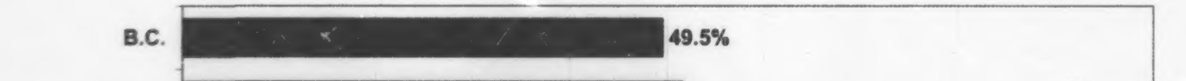
With median incomes so far below the norm, one supposes that large numbers of Aboriginal individuals and families are living in poverty by Canadian standards. There is, however, no agreed on definition of poverty.

The most commonly used "poverty" indicators are Statistics Canada's low-income cut-offs (LICO's), which are based upon the relative proportion of family income spent on food, clothing and shelter, and which vary according to family size and size of community. However, Statistics Canada does not refer to LICO's as poverty indicators, and what they appear to measure is income inequality, not poverty in any absolute sense.[27]

For purposes of this book, we will refer to people or families as "having incomes below the LICO" in their community, or "low-income families," rather than families "living in poverty." The distinction, however, may be moot to the extent that it is relative or perceived deprivation, and not absolute poverty, which works its deleterious effects on the life chances of low income people—on health indicators for example, or educational achievement.

Regardless of possible inadequacies or biases in the LICO indicator, there are strikingly higher numbers of Aboriginal low-income households in the west, and especially in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, than elsewhere in the country. Excluding reserves, 63% of Aboriginal children in Manitoba live in households with incomes below the LICO. This is compared to 52% of Aboriginal children across Canada, 45% or less of Aboriginal children in provinces east of Manitoba, and 22.6% of non-Aboriginal Canadian children.[28]

% Off-Reserve Aboriginal Children Residing in Low-Income Households, 1996



In all provinces, the incidence of low income among Aboriginal children is substantially higher in the large cities than other off-reserve locations. Statistics show that 72% of Winnipeg Aboriginal children live in low-income households, a figure comparable to Regina and Saskatoon. This drops to 65% in Edmonton, 59% in Calgary, 58% in Vancouver, 56% in Thunder Bay, 49% in Montreal, and 41% in Toronto and Ottawa-Hull. Winnipeg Aboriginal children are 3.3 times as likely to live in low-income households as Winnipeg non-Aboriginal children, and 1.8 times as likely as Aboriginal children in Toronto.[29]

Within Manitoba, the following table compares the percentages of 1996 Census respondents with incomes less than the LICO, excluding reserves:

	Non-Aboriginal	*Metis*	*Non Status Indians*	*Status Indians*
All Persons	18.0	41.0	52.3	66.2
Children aged 0-17	19.8	49.1	61.8	73.1
Adults >18	17.4	36.1	44.5	60.7
Single Parents	53.9	81.7	75.0	89.2
Couples with Children	13.0	29.7	43.2	52.7

In Winnipeg alone, the comparable figures are:

	Non-Aboriginal	*Metis*	*Non Status Indians*	*Status Indians*
All Persons	21.4	51.4	61.2	75.2
Children aged 0-17	23.5	61.7	51.7	82.2
Adults >18	20.8	45.5	52.3	69.8
Single Parents	56.6	85.8	78.8	93.0
Couples with Children	15.0	37.8	52.2	65.6

For non-Aboriginal people, the low-income status rate in Winnipeg is two to three percent higher than the provincial average, reflecting a higher cost of living and/or a bias in the LICO indicator.[30] For Aboriginal people, the urban/rural difference is much greater. Fifty-one percent of Metis in Winnipeg have incomes under the LICO, and only about 30% outside Winnipeg. The Manitoba average for off-reserve Status Indians under the LICO is 66%, and in Winnipeg alone, 75%. Regardless of any possible bias in the LICO indicator, Aboriginal people in Winnipeg clearly have lower average standards of living than their counterparts off reserve outside Winnipeg.

There are differences of about 10% between the Winnipeg and provincial figures for all Aboriginal persons, adults 18 and over, children 17 and under, and for couples with children. Interestingly, the difference is only three to four percent for single parent families, or about the same as the non-Aboriginal urban/provincial variance. Aboriginal single parent families in Winnipeg do not appear to be substantially worse off than their counterparts off reserve outside Winnipeg.

In absolute terms, however, the low-income rate for Aboriginal single parent families, inside or outside Winnipeg, is appalling. Provincially, 89.2% of off-reserve Status Indian single parents (and their children) fall below the LICO, as do 81.7% of Metis single parents. While 52.4% of all off-reserve Aboriginal people fall below the LICO, and 53.9% of non-Aboriginal single parents, the average figure for all off-reserve Aboriginal single parents is 85.5%.

There is, by the way, nothing inevitable about low income for female-led single parent households. First World countries vary remarkably in this regard. The 1993 Luxembourg Income Study documented the proportion of households receiving income less than 50% of the country's median income, after transfers and taxes, and adjusted for family size. The differences reflect not market forces, but the political priority placed on reducing child poverty. Their results were as follows:

RELATIVE LOW INCOME RATES CA. 1990, SELECTED COUNTRIES

Country	Female lone parent	Couples with children	All non-elderly households
Sweden	6	3	12
The Netherlands	11	5	5
Belgium	17	14	5
Italy	21	8	9
France	22	8	9
United Kingdom	30	15	12
Germany	39	6	9
Canada	52	11	15
United States	60	14	19
Australia	66	12	16

Source: The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty, CCSD, 1994. The "households" column includes unattached individuals and excludes households where the head of household is over age 60.

Large numbers of Manitoba Aboriginal couples with children also fall below the LICO. For non-Aboriginal "traditional families," only 13% have incomes less than the LICO. By contrast, 38.6% of off-reserve Aboriginal couples with children fall below the LICO. A slight majority (52.7%) of off-reserve Status couples with children fall below the LICO, including 65.6% in Winnipeg.

Province-wide, the majority of Metis couples with children have incomes exceeding the LICO, a reflection of a higher labour market participation rate that results in larger numbers of two-income families. Still, 29.7% of Metis couples with children fall below the LICO, including 37.8% in Winnipeg.

Finally, the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg's "Child Poverty in Manitoba" 1998 Report notes that in Winnipeg in 1996:

> …a single parent on social assistance with one child received an income that was 52% of the poverty line [LICO indicator]. A couple with two children received an income that was 56%

of the poverty line. Between 1995 and 1996, families with children saw a decrease in their social assistance incomes: 1.0% and 5.8% respectively for a single parent with one child and a couple with two children.

The same report indicated that in 1996, the average "poverty gap" (i.e. the difference between family income and the LICO) was $8,928 after government transfers, compared to $17,368 before government transfers. Therefore, the effect of government transfers was to increase the average annual income of families having incomes below the LICO by $8,440.[31]

ON-RESERVE INCOME

We have discussed comparative labour market and income statistics for Winnipeg and off reserve outside Winnipeg. It is more difficult to make valid comparisons with on-reserve statistics, because we lack the analytic tools, concepts and data to fully describe and comprehend on-reserve patterns of employment and income adequacy. The monthly Labour Force Survey reports specifically exclude on-reserve residents, and the Statistics Canada LICO is not applicable to on-reserve situations.[32]

Just as income on reserve is relatively disconnected from employment, so is income adequacy disconnected from cash or gross income. This is true to the extent that:

- Housing and other goods and services are provided by the Band administration, and not directly purchased or rented by the user;
- Incomes are exempt from income tax, and goods and services from sales tax; and
- Resources traditionally extracted from the land, especially by hunting and fishing, may supplement income.

While these factors may make sustenance possible on reserve at lower income levels, it is also the case that store-bought food, fuel, and other goods that must be transported to often-isolated reserves will cost substantially more than in the southern urban areas. Similarly travel, where not subsidized by authorities as in the case of medical evacuation, can be much more expensive.

All of these factors which, in addition, vary from reserve to reserve, complicate the development of concepts and data sufficient to analyze on-reserve income adequacy. It is commonly understood and accepted that many First Nations are impoverished communities, and perhaps extremely impoverished communities, but there does not appear to be any research which sets out to compare poverty levels and patterns among on and off-reserve Aboriginal communities.

Having said this, the median income for Status Indian individuals aged 15 and over and living on reserve in 1996 was $6,755: for women $6,266 and for men $7,313. Incomes at this level are de facto non-taxable, due to personal and other exemptions and deductions. The tax-exempt status of on-reserve earnings provides a tangible benefit only to Status people with above-average incomes (though sales tax exemptions provide benefits to all).

The on-reserve median income was $2,095 less than the median income of Status Indians in Winnipeg. The difference amounts to 23% of the Winnipeg median income of $8,850. However, 60% of Status Indians in Winnipeg spend over 30% of their income on shelter costs, ordinarily covered by the Band administration on reserve. In fact, the proportion of income spent on housing generally increases among the poorest families, such as single parents.[33] Food and other consumables may cost more on reserve and especially in the north, but this may be offset by the availability of traditional resources.

In short, the census provides no evidence that the incomes on reserve are either more or less adequate than among Status Indians in Winnipeg. In both settings, median incomes are extremely low by Canadian standards, and a majority of families and individuals subsist on incomes below an equivalent of the Statistics Canada LICO. Status Indians living off reserve outside Winnipeg appear to have a higher average standard of living than their counterparts elsewhere, either in Winnipeg or on reserve.

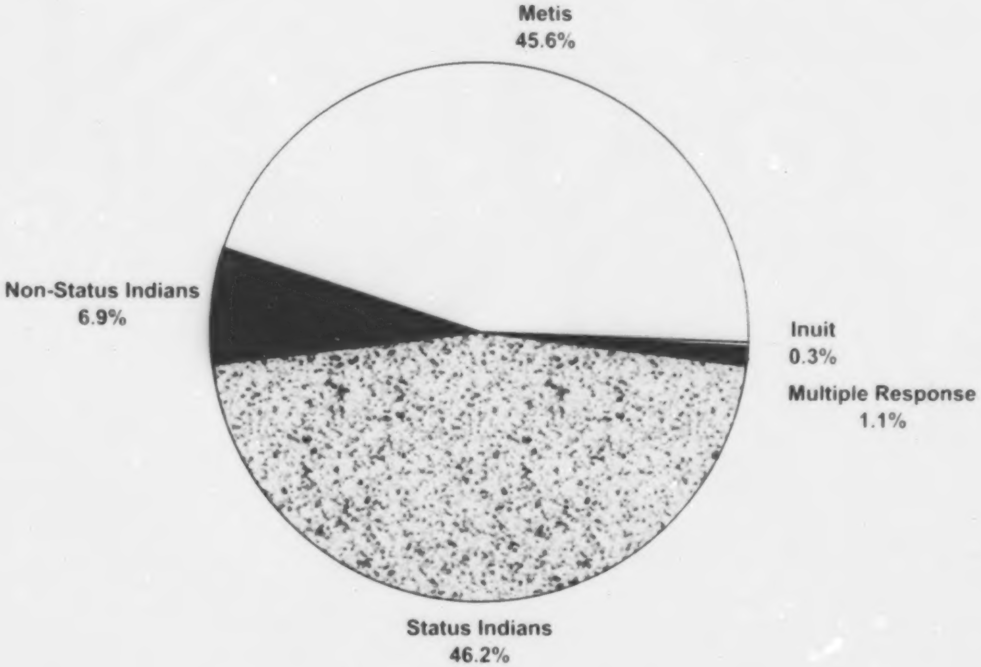
FOCUS: WINNIPEG

Fifty years ago, in the 1951 Census, only 210 of Winnipeg's population of 354,000 were identified as registered Indians. The Metis were not counted in those days. By the time a comprehensive survey of Winnipeg's Aboriginal population was made in 1958, there were 1,200 Indians and 3,500 Metis. This was about one percent of the city's population, though the Metis were probably undercounted.

In 1958, 58% of the Indian population had lived in the city for less than three years. About 20% of the Metis had lived in Winnipeg less than three years, and 45% had lived here more than 10 years. Most recent arrivals stated they had come to the city to find work, and 83% of men who indicated this reason were employed at the time of the interview. Overall, 55% of Aboriginal respondents were employed.[1] We have seen that this employment rate has since dropped to 42%, despite increased labour market participation of women.

Winnipeg's Aboriginal population has continued to increase—due to the high birth rate and decreasing mortality rate, increasing Aboriginal self-identification and, prior to the 1990's, in-migration from rural areas. By the 1996 Census, 45,750 Winnipeg residents identified themselves as North American Indian, Metis or Inuit.

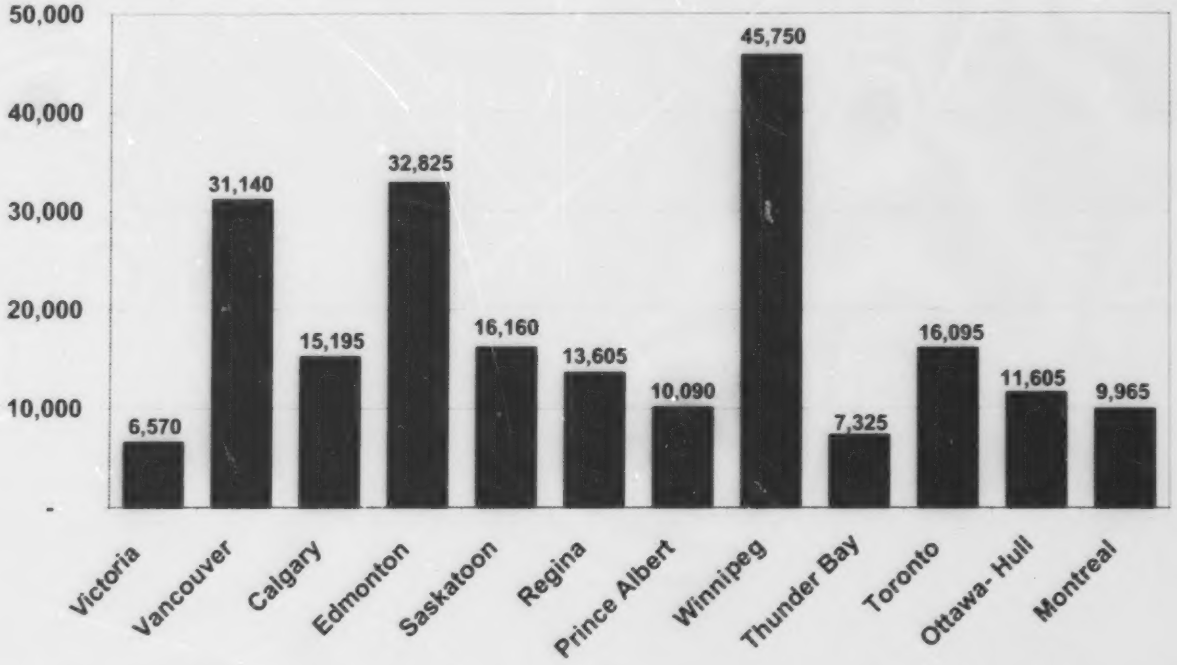
Of these, about 46% indicated registration under the Indian Act, and another 46% indicated Metis identity.[2] Winnipeg had the largest Metis community in Canada, comprising just over 50% of the Metis population in Manitoba. Non-Status Indians were the third largest group, at about 7%. The Inuit population in Winnipeg was only 120, yet this accounted for 50% of the total Inuit population in Manitoba.



Between 1996 and 2000, the Aboriginal population in Winnipeg will have grown to approximately 50,000–just over 7% of the population.

WINNIPEG IN RELATION TO OTHER CANADIAN CITIES

Canada's 12 largest Urban Aboriginal communities, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 1996 Census



As well as being the largest Aboriginal community in Canada, Aboriginal people in Winnipeg make up a larger proportion of the population in Winnipeg than most large Canadian cities. Aboriginal people comprise less than 1% of the population of Toronto and Montreal, 1.7% in Vancouver and 1.9% in Calgary, rising to 3.8% in Edmonton, 5.9% in Thunder Bay and 6.9% in Winnipeg. Only the Saskatchewan cities of Regina and Saskatoon have a higher proportion of Aboriginal people (7.1% and 7.5%).

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

Aboriginal people live throughout the city, however they are concentrated in the inner city.[3] Here they account for over 20% of the population of 14 different census tracts, and over a third of all school age children. In one inner city census tract, the Aboriginal portion of the population exceeds 50%. By contrast, outside Winnipeg Aboriginal people do not comprise over 20% of any urban census tract in Canada, except a small number in Regina and Saskatoon.[4] It can be argued that the size, proportion and geographical concentration of Winnipeg's Aboriginal community make it qualitatively unique among Canadian cities.

This inner city area is one in which the overall proportion of children who are under the age of six has increased from 25.7% to 31.4% from 1981 to 1996. In the same period, the proportion of families headed by single parents has increased from 17.5% to 27.1%. The labour market participation rate has dropped from 63.5% to 58.4%, and for those single parents who participate in the labour market the unemployment rate has increased from 11.6% in 1981 to 24.3% in 1996.[5] All of these trends are related to the increasing Aboriginal population in these neighbourhoods.

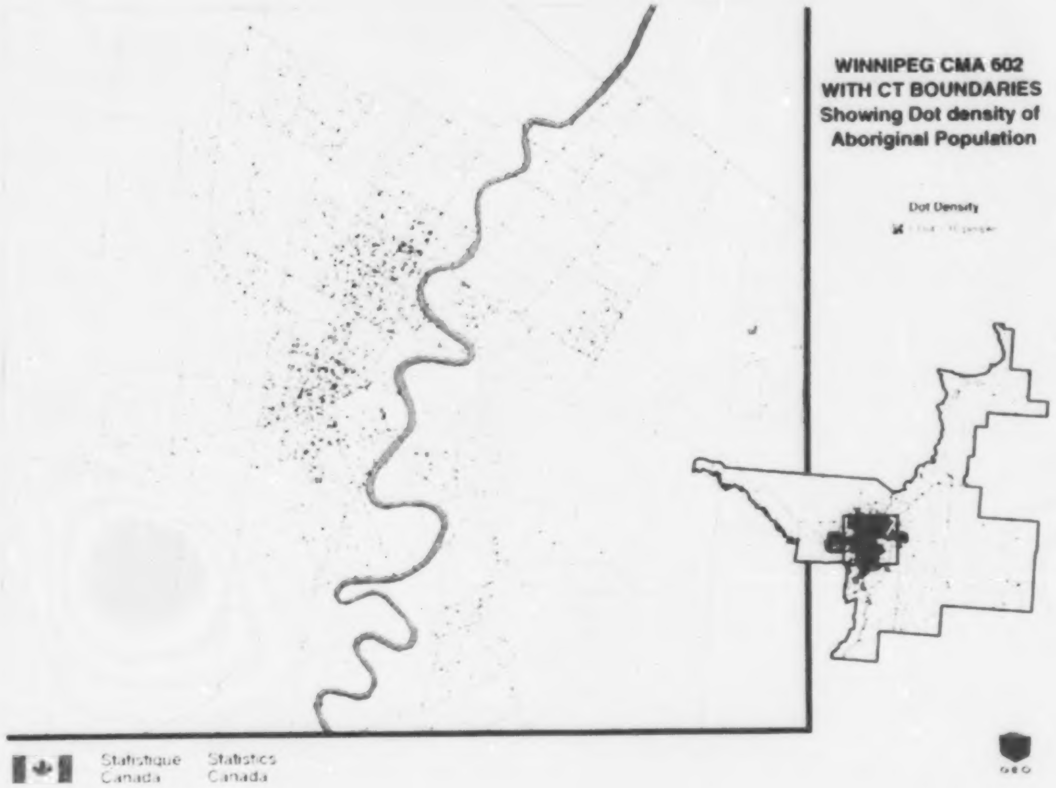
Researchers have found that the proportion of all inner city families with incomes under the Low Income Cut-Off (LICO) has increased steadily from 32.6% in 1971, to 39.5% in 1986, to 50.8% in 1996. Among inner city Aboriginal households in 1996, the proportion was 80.3%. In fact, 64.7% of Aboriginal households in all of Winnipeg are below the LICO. Aboriginal households comprise over 20% of Winnipeg households with incomes under the LICO, though they are only 7% of the population.[6]

Families with incomes under the LICO are often referred to in the media or in government reports, as "living in poverty." While this designation is controversial, there has been a nine-fold increase in the number of families using food banks supplied by Winnipeg Harvest between 1987 and 1997. During this same period, the use of food banks across Canada has "only" doubled.[7]

> ...Poor families in Winnipeg have incomes far below the LICO ...The LICO for a household of three in Winnipeg is $27,672. Winnipeg households with incomes below the LICO had an average annual income of $13,717 in 1996 and $12,211 in the inner city – less than half the level of the LICO.[8]

The core area of Winnipeg can be unsafe for its residents. Manitoba Health has reported that "the hospitalization rate for violence by others was 6.6 times higher in core area than for non-core area residents. The hospitalization rate for violence to self was 2.1 times higher."[9]

Aboriginal people rate Winnipeg as a less safe place than other Aboriginal communities. In the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 79% of reserve residents aged 15 and over reported "feeling safe walking alone at night in their community," as did 83% of Metis living in communities outside Winnipeg. In Winnipeg, this number dropped to 65% for both Metis and Indians.[10] The well-publicized rise of the street gangs in the early to middle 1990s, along with an outbreak of arson in the late 1990s, can only have heightened these perceptions since 1991.[11]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Not surprisingly, Aboriginal people living outside the core area enjoy higher education and income levels, lower unemployment and more stable housing. The following table gives data for Aboriginal people age 15 and over in selected neighbourhoods, sorted by median income,[12] with Winnipeg total population data at bottom for comparison:

	% Married	*% Education > Grade 12*	*% Moved in Past Year*	*Unemployment Rate*	*Median Income*
Downtown	14	33	45	38	$8,222
Pt. Douglas	17	23	41	41	$8,337
Inkster	32	31	35	29	$11,092
Seven Oaks	29	45	33	24	$13,087
River East	32	38	37	20	$13,436
St. Boniface	36	42	30	16	$14,821
St. James	33	41	36	13	$15,470
St. Vital	36	42	31	14	$15,579
Ft. Garry	43	51	28	14	$17,362
ALL WINNIPEG RESIDENTS	**51**	**53**	**16**	**8**	**$19,950**

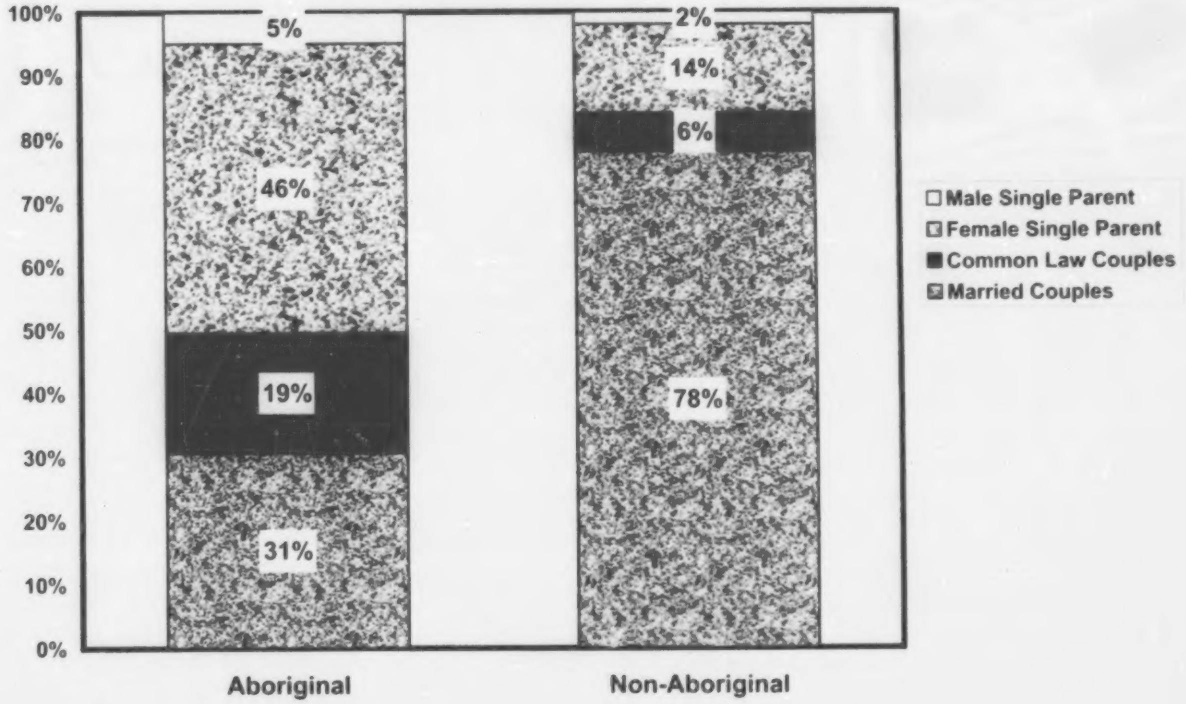
In all neighbourhoods, Aboriginal people are more transient and have unemployment rates significantly above average. However, in suburban neighbourhoods, Aboriginal peoples' education and income levels approach city averages.

Married Aboriginal people with jobs and sufficient incomes appear to be following their non-Aboriginal counterparts out of the inner city, just as soon as they can afford the higher rents. In the inner city districts of Downtown and Point Douglas, only 14% and 17% respectively of Aboriginal adults were married in 1996. This compares with province-wide averages of 34.5% for Metis and 32.3% for First Nations.[13] Both single parents and unattached individuals are over-represented in the inner city.

FAMILY STRUCTURE

A particular characteristic of the Aboriginal population in Winnipeg is the very high proportion of single parent families. Though only 27% of Manitoba Status Indians live in the city, one half of Status single parents live there (1,995 out of 4,005). The other side of the coin is that only 910 Status lone parents (23%) live on reserve, though 58% of the total population is on reserve.

Family Structure of Winnipeg Children 0-14 (by % of children), 1996



In Winnipeg, 61% of First Nations families and 41% of Metis families are led by a single parent, as compared to 17.6% of non-Aboriginal families. First Nations families in Winnipeg are four times as likely to be headed by a single parent as families on reserve, and three and a half times as likely as non-Aboriginal families in Winnipeg. To the extent that Aboriginal children in single parent families are "at risk" of various negative life outcomes, these risks and these outcomes are centred in Winnipeg. Low income, high shelter costs, and frequent residential moves are particular issues for these families.

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES LED BY A SINGLE PARENT[14]

Location	Status Indians	Metis
All Manitoba	32.6	33.6
Winnipeg	***60.8***	***41.1***
Southern Off Reserve	48.0	24.0
Northern Off Reserve	46.1	30.9
Southern On Reserve	18.0	N/A
Northern On Reserve	12.4	16.7

Non-Aboriginal families tend to be led by a single parent because of divorce or widowhood. But Aboriginal single parents are on average much younger, and less likely to have ever been married. In Winnipeg, just 13% of non-Aboriginal single parents are aged 15-29. For Metis, the figure is 33%, and for Status Indians 37% (compared to 24% on reserve). Over 60% of non-Aboriginal single parents in Winnipeg are over 40, compared to 33% of Metis and 24% of Status Indians.

PROGRAM DELIVERY

The Manitoba Metis Federation (MMF) is composed of seven regions; one of these, the Winnipeg Metis Association, is specifically oriented to serve its members and other Aboriginal people residing in Winnipeg.

Program and service delivery to First Nations members residing in Winnipeg through Band or Tribal Council offices is problematic, due to the heterogeneity of this population in terms of First Nation membership. Bands belonging to the Interlake Reserves Tribal Council have approximately 3,300 members in Winnipeg, Southeast Resource Development Council 2,300 members, and Dakota-Ojibway Tribal Council 1,500 members. The other four Tribal Council each have less than 1,000 members in Winnipeg, and 4,300 First Nation members belong to Bands not affiliated with any Tribal Council.[15]

One unaffiliated Band, Fort Alexander or Sagkeeng First Nation, has over 1,800 members in Winnipeg. Peguis, in the Interlake, has just under 1,600 members in Winnipeg. No other Band has more than 1,000 members, although there are significant numbers of members from many—such as Brokenhead (800), Fairford (700), Norway House (600), Fisher River (600), Long Plain (500), St. Theresa Point (500), Sandy Bay (450) and Pine Creek (400).[16]

During the 1990s, a number of service delivery agencies for Aboriginal people have located at the Aboriginal Centre, in the former Canadian Pacific Railway station at the corner of Main Street and Higgins Avenue in Winnipeg. These agencies deliver services in a "status-blind" fashion; that is, without regard to whether the person is Status or non-Status Indian, or Inuit or Metis. During 1999, the MMF also located its provincial headquarters in this area, and an attractive new building called the Thunderbird House has been constructed. It is intended to be a spiritual and cultural centre for Aboriginal residents of Winnipeg.

CHAPTER SEVEN: HOUSING AND MOBILITY

HOMEOWNERSHIP

With lower incomes, Aboriginal people have far lower rates of homeownership than non-Aboriginal people do. Where 77.6% of non-Aboriginal people in Manitoba reside in owner-occupied housing, the same is true of only 26.3% of Aboriginal people.[1] Metis have the highest rate of homeownership among the Aboriginal groups: 49.7%, compared to 33.6% for non-Status Indians and just 13.9% for registered Indians.

Almost half of registered Indians live in Band housing, including 84% of the on-reserve population. Bands also house 53% of the 670 Metis and 27% of the 895 non-Aboriginal people who reside on reserve. 51% of non-Aboriginal people on reserve rent, and 21% own their homes.

Of the 79,510 Aboriginal people who live off reserve, including Winnipeg, 38% are homeowners and 62% renters. Again, this varies among the Aboriginal groups: 50% of Metis are homeowners as compared to only 24% of Status people. Metis in Winnipeg are more likely to be renters than their rural counterparts. 63% of Winnipeg Metis rent, as compared to 27% of non-Aboriginal Winnipeggers.

Only 16.7% of Status Indians in Winnipeg live in owner-occupied housing, and 83.3% rent. Therefore, the distribution of rental housing in Winnipeg along with its pricing largely determines the distribution of Status Indians in the city, leading to an ethnic "ghettoization" effect. To a lesser degree, this applies to Metis as well.

Off reserve in northern Manitoba, half of the Metis own and half rent. By contrast, in the south outside Winnipeg, 70.2% of Metis live in owner-occupied housing, which approaches the 84.7% figure for non-Aboriginal people in those areas. There is a similar north/south variation for Status people off reserve, although far fewer are homeowners: 29.3% in the north and 38.8% in the south outside Winnipeg.

SHELTER COSTS

A high percentage of family income spent on shelter costs is often an indicator of relative poverty, in the form of less disposable income. While families with lower incomes tend to rent or buy less expensive housing, local housing markets limit the degree to which shelter costs can be reduced.

Of non-Aboriginal Manitoba households who rented in 1996, 33% spent over 30% of their income on shelter. The corresponding figure for homeowners was just 9.6%. Part of this difference between renters and owners is a function of family income, and part is a function of the age of the homeowners, older homeowners being more likely to have paid off their mortgages and own their homes outright.

Aboriginal people, as we have seen, have lower average incomes, larger families with more young children, and far fewer people in the older age categories. Off reserve, Aboriginal families are more likely to rent than own their homes. As a result, nearly half (48.3%) of Aboriginal renters spend over 30% of their family income on shelter costs (43% of Metis, 52% of Status Indians, and 53% of non-

Status Indians). In Winnipeg, this figure rises to 55.5%: 50% of Metis, 58% of non-Status Indians, and 60% of Status Indians.

Therefore, 83% of Status Indians living in Winnipeg rent their homes, of which a majority spends over 30% of their income to do so.

Among Aboriginal households renting accommodations in northern Manitoba and in non-Band housing on reserve, the shelter cost "squeeze" is less common. In the north, 32% of 9,590 Aboriginal renters off reserve have shelter cost ratios over 30%, as do 24% of 4,165 renters on reserve. However, most Aboriginal housing in the north and especially on reserve is Band housing, and a different set of problems is in evidence.

HOUSING CONDITION

Among non-Aboriginal households in Manitoba, 30.4% reported in the 1996 Census a need for "minor repairs" to their houses. 9.6% needed "major repairs," with 60% reportedly needing no repairs at all. While this determination is somewhat subjective, Aboriginal people in general tended to be less sanguine on the subject of their housing conditions. Across Manitoba, 32.9% of Aboriginal people lived in housing reported as needing minor repairs, and 27.1% in housing needing major repairs–three times the non-Aboriginal rate.

The figures for "major repairs" vary widely among locales and among Aboriginal groups. Province-wide, 18% of Metis (including both homeowners and renters) indicated the need for major repairs, as compared to 22% of non-Status and 32% of Status Indians. Among Status Indians, 19% indicated "major repairs" off reserve (16% in Winnipeg), compared to 41.4% on reserve. On reserve, an additional 30.7% indicated a need for minor repairs, leaving only 28% living in fully satisfactory housing.

Much of the housing stock in Winnipeg is relatively good, though old. People living in Winnipeg, and especially Aboriginal people, are less likely to consider their housing to be in need of major repairs than are people outside Winnipeg. 16% of Status Indians in Winnipeg indicated a need for major repairs, 15% of non-Status Indians, 12.5% of Metis, and 8.6% of non-Aboriginal residents. The average for all Aboriginal Winnipeggers is 14.5%. Aboriginal housing off reserve outside Winnipeg fared worse at 22.9% needing major repairs, and on reserve worst of all at 41.4%.

For many social and economic indicators we have been examining, the Metis fare better than Status Indians do. Housing repair conditions outside Winnipeg are an interesting exception to this rule: the difference between the two groups disappears. About 22% of Metis off reserve outside Winnipeg indicate a need for major repairs, as compared to 23% of Status people in the same areas. Forty-two percent of Metis houses on reserve needed major repairs, compared to 41% for Status Indians. By the same token, the gap between housing conditions for Metis within and outside Winnipeg is wider than for their First Nations counterparts.

The proportion of housing on reserve deemed to be in need of major repair is the same in the north and in the south, at 41.4%. Aboriginal housing off reserve, however, is inferior in the north, with 27.7% needing major repairs as compared to 19.4% in the south, or 22.9% in the south excepting Winnipeg.

CROWDING

One way that Census data may be used to measure crowding, and to assess whether or not a housing shortage is in evidence, is by measuring and comparing the number of persons per bedroom in households. Many households, of course, have one or fewer people per bedroom – in which case, the household may have "extra bedrooms" or bedrooms being used for other purposes. A house with one to two persons per bedroom is not necessarily overcrowded. But a house with more than two persons per bedroom almost certainly is, because it means that, somewhere, there are three or more persons sleeping in a single room, or else one or more persons sleeping in a room not intended to be used as a bedroom.

In non-Aboriginal households in Manitoba, 86% have one or less persons per bedroom, an additional 10% have two or less, and 4% have more than two persons per bedroom. The average non-Aboriginal household is less crowded than at any time in past history, and much less crowded than during the 1950-1970 "baby boom".

By contrast, 59% of registered Indians have one or less persons per bedroom, 28% one to two, and 13% over two. The Metis numbers fall in between, closer to the non-Aboriginal than Status numbers: 78%, 16% and 6%.

All told, 10.3% of Manitoba's Aboriginal people live in overcrowded conditions according to this definition, or 13,000 people (not households), of whom 10,000 are Status Indians. By the same definition, 35,000 non-Aboriginal people live in overcrowded conditions. Aboriginal people are three times more likely to be in this position, but part of this is the result of having younger and larger families.

In general, Winnipeg housing is slightly more crowded than outside Winnipeg, which reflects housing costs and the shelter cost "squeeze" described above. This is the case both for non-Aboriginal and Metis people. By contrast, among Status Indians, 10.4% live in households with more than two persons per bedroom in Winnipeg, 11.6% in off reserve situations outside Winnipeg, and 13.8% on reserve.

There is a very distinct north/south split. 14.5% of Aboriginal people in the north live in households with two or more persons per bedroom, compared to 5.8% in the south and 8.3% in Winnipeg. The apparent overcrowding of housing among Status Indians in the north applies in both on-reserve (14.8%) and off-reserve (17%) situations.

ON-RESERVE HOUSING

We have noted that one half of Status Indians, and 84% of on-reserve Indians, live in Band housing. Forty-one percent of this housing is deemed by occupants to be in need of major repairs, compared to 22-23% off reserve outside Winnipeg, 14.5% of Aboriginal-occupied housing in Winnipeg, and 9.6% of housing occupied by non-Aboriginal Manitobans. Census evidence of overcrowding on reserve, however, is far less clear. Census data indicate that 13.8% of reserve residents live in households with two or more persons per bedroom, slightly higher than off reserve situations (approximately 11% for Status Indians in or out of Winnipeg). In the north, overcrowding is actually more in evidence off reserve than on.

Through the 1990s, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) has spent in the range of $150 million annually for on reserve housing nationally, supplemented by about $110 million from Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). According to INAC, its housing program was designed to provide subsidies to construction and major renovations projects, but due to restricted private capital,

> ...the prevailing legal and social limitations have meant that what was supposed to be only a subsidy has become the principle source of construction funding ...Reliance on federal subsidies ...(has) meant construction of smaller houses. Often these houses were built to minimal standards and not able to withstand severe weather conditions ...The lack of community-wide rental regimes on most reserves means that there are few if any resources with which to carry out essential maintenance and repairs. In combination with the often modest initial construction, the result is a housing stock which has deteriorated rapidly.[2]

INAC funding subsidized construction of 18,000 new homes and renovation of 15,000 existing homes during 1990 to 1995–a total of 33,000 homes out of 76,000 homes existing nationally on reserve in 1995 were affected.[3] There was in effect, a 25% increase in the number of housing units on reserve over five years, a rate exceeding the rate of population increase.

An alternate measure for crowding is number of persons per room, as opposed to per bedroom. National figures for 1991 indicated that 11.4% of First Nations dwellings had more than one person per room. While this was eight times the Canadian rate, it was a significant decrease from 20.3% in 1986. In 1994/95, Health Canada reported that:

> Recent data show major improvements in housing conditions. In 1994/95, six percent of First Nations dwellings lacked an adequate water supply, and 12% were without adequate sewage disposal, compared to 1986 when over 25% were without adequate water and 33% without adequate sewage disposal.[4]

Thirty years of "catch-up" housing construction on reserve have, to some extent, alleviated deficiencies in the on-reserve housing supply, and may have contributed to increased population stability and decreased migration to off-reserve locations. However, housing condition and suitability on reserve remain serious concerns.

MOBILITY & MIGRATION

According to the 1996 Census, 53% of Aboriginal residents of Manitoba had moved within the past five years. This was compared to only 39% of all Manitobans. Twenty-five percent had moved within the past year, compared to 15% of all Manitobans. However, Aboriginal people are not more mobile or migratory than other Manitobans, as is often supposed. Rather, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations demonstrate different patterns of mobility, and there are distinct differences in mobility rates among Aboriginal groups in different locations.

A great deal of this apparent movement consisted of changes of address within the same municipality, particularly movement from one rented accommodation to another in urban settings. We will refer to persons who lived at a different address within the same municipality one or five years previous as "movers," and those who lived in a different municipality as "migrants."

The following chart, broken down by group and place of residence in 1996, shows the percentages of census respondents who had lived in a different municipality five years earlier:

1996 Residence	Non-Aboriginal	Metis	Status	Total Aboriginal
Manitoba	13	15	17	16
Winnipeg	10	9	21	15
N. Off Reserve	19	20	25	23
S. Off Reserve	18	21	38	27
N. On Reserve	-	-	9	-
S. On Reserve	-	-	16	-

Aboriginal migration (as opposed to moving) rates are not much higher in Manitoba than non-Aboriginal rates, at 16% compared to 13%. Nationally, the overall Aboriginal migration rate is slightly less than that of the total population.[5] In Manitoba, two significant Aboriginal groups show migration rates below the provincial average: Status Indians on reserve in the North, and Metis in Winnipeg. In both cases, only 9% of respondents lived in a different municipality five years earlier.

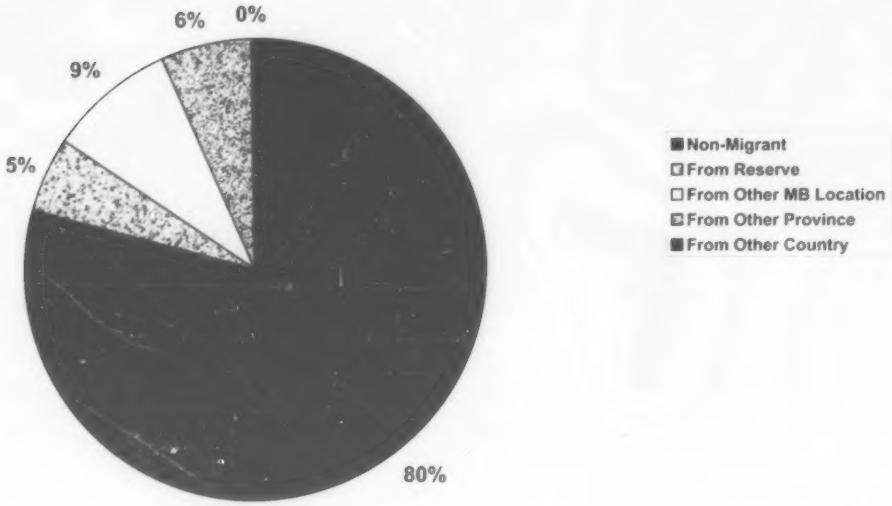
Metis migration rates throughout the province are about the same as non-Aboriginal rates. The higher over-all Aboriginal rate is entirely due to the movement of off-reserve Status Indians: in Winnipeg, in the north, and especially in the south outside Winnipeg. On reserve populations, especially in the north, are remarkably stable.

At 21%, Status Indians living in Winnipeg were twice as likely as Metis or non-Aboriginal residents to have moved from outside the city in the past five years. However, because there was a slight net out-migration of Status Indians from Winnipeg in 1991-96, this 20% of Winnipeg's Status population must be balanced against slightly larger numbers who moved from Winnipeg in 1991-96: to reserves, other off-reserve locations, or out of the province entirely. This is population "churn," a movement of large numbers of people from one to location to another, but with little net migration trend.

The highest migration rates, for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people alike, are found among residents outside Winnipeg but not on reserve. About 20% of Metis and non-Aboriginal people here had lived in a different municipality five years earlier, but this rises to 25% of Status Indians in the North, and a very high 38% in the South.

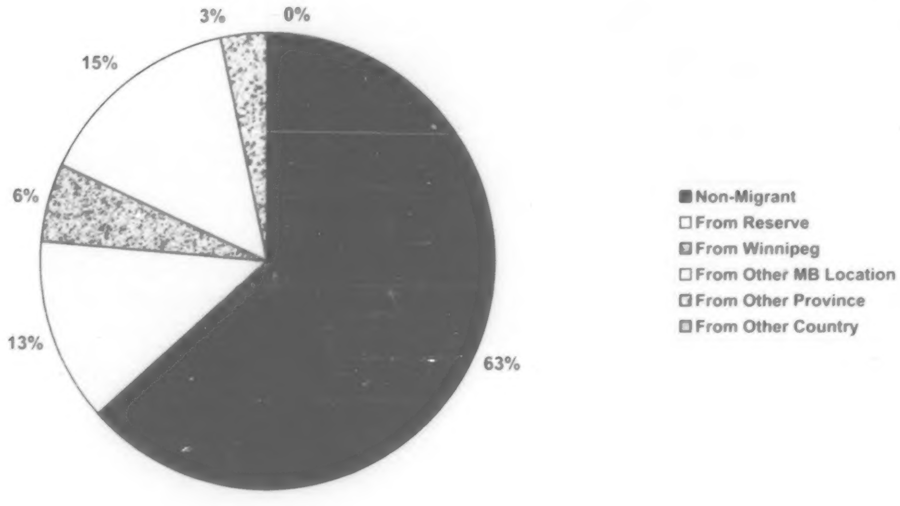
Migration rates appear to be inversely correlated to net migration rates. Where migration is highest, off reserve outside Winnipeg especially in the south, there is a net out-migration. Where migration is lowest, on reserve especially in the north, there is a net in-migration. Winnipeg falls between the two extremes. The fact that 38% of Status Indians off reserve in the south lived in a different municipality five years ago, while at the same time, there was a net out-migration of 575 people, indicates that there is migration between southern off reserve localities on a large scale.

1991 Residence of 1996 Status Residents of Winnipeg



Of the 37% of Status Indians living off reserve outside Winnipeg who migrated in the past five years, 13% came from reserves and 6% from Winnipeg. About 15% came from other Manitoba locations, and 3% from outside the province. Of the 20% of Status Indians in Winnipeg who had migrated, 5% came from reserves, 9% from other Manitoba locations, and 6% from out of province. Finally, of 10% of on-reserve Status Indians who had migrated, 4% came from Winnipeg, 4% from other Manitoba locations, and 2% from other reserves or out of province.

1991 Residence of 1996 Off Reserve Status Indians Outside Winnipeg



CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MIGRANT POPULATION

At the time of the 1996 Census, 1,400 Aboriginal recent migrants aged 15 and over resided on reserve, 1,600 in Winnipeg, 1,600 off reserve in the south and just under 1,000 off reserve in the north. Though 35% of the total Aboriginal population resides in Winnipeg, only 28.5% of the migrants were found there. Twenty-five percent of migrants were found on reserve, compared to 36.5% of the total Aboriginal population.

Therefore, the Aboriginal migrant population is disproportionately located in off-reserve settings outside Winnipeg, especially small urban centres. In other words, the migrants cluster where Aboriginal-specific programs and services are least likely to be located.

Aboriginal migrants identified by the 1996 Census were, by and large, a young group, with 59% aged 15-29 and 23% aged 30-39. By contrast, only 42% of Aboriginal non-migrant adults were aged 15-29.

Young parents, both single or spouses, are over-represented among migrants. But these young families have fewer children than average, being in an earlier state of development, and, therefore, children are under-represented among migrants. Single parent families are particularly over-represented among migrants to urban areas, especially Winnipeg where they form over half of migrant families.[6]

The migrants were relatively well-educated, with 44% having Grade Twelve or better as compared with 38% of the non-migrant Aboriginal population.[7] About 46% of the Winnipeg/off reserve migrants had Grade Twelve or better, compared to 43% of Winnipeg/off-reserve non-migrants. Thirty nine percent of on-reserve migrants had Grade Twelve or more, compared to 27% of non-migrants, so the difference in educational levels is strongest among those who have moved to the reserve from Winnipeg or other off-reserve settings.

However, in Manitoba the labour force participation rate of the migrants is not significantly different from the non-migrants.[8] In fact, among registered Indians it is actually slightly lower–45% for migrants and 47.1% for non-migrants. The lower labour market participation rate of First Nations migrants is most pronounced in off-reserve settings outside Winnipeg, and disappears on reserve.

Many people obviously moved for reasons other than to seek employment: for example for housing, education, family reasons or health care needs. Again, the notion of large numbers of Status Indians moving from reserves to urban centres in search of employment is not supported–rather; labour market participants are slightly more likely to move from urban centres to reserves.

Among those Aboriginal people who have migrated and who do participate in the labour force, the unemployment rate is very high. Throughout Manitoba, the unemployment rate for migrant Status Indians is about 38% compared to 30% for non-migrants, and among the Metis 28% compared to 19% for non-migrants. Even on reserve, the unemployment rate is higher for migrants–35% compared to 30% for non-migrants.

The difference in unemployment rates is most pronounced among Status Indians residing in Winnipeg, where an astonishing 48.8% of migrant labour market participants were unemployed in

1996, compared to 33.5% of non-migrants. Insofar as there were Status Indians moving to Winnipeg to find work in 1995-96, they were obviously not finding it.

In very distinct contrast, among Metis migrants to Winnipeg the unemployment rate was 18.2% compared to 20.4% for non-migrants in Winnipeg. But among Metis migrants to locations in the south outside Winnipeg, the unemployment rate was much higher: 31.5% compared to 15.2% for non-migrants.

With comparable or lower labour market participation rates, and usually higher unemployment rates, the employment rate of Aboriginal migrants is lower than non-migrants. Where there is no significant difference in employment between migrant and non-migrant non-Aboriginal people (64.7% vs. 63.3%) the overall employment rate for Aboriginal migrants was 35.8%, compared to 40.7% of non-migrants.

The employment rate of Metis migrants was 48.3%, and for First Nations migrants a mere 27.7%. Among First Nations migrants to Winnipeg, the employment rate in 1996 was only 21.3%. For migrants to reserves, the employment rate was 30.6%.

Because of relatively high unemployment and low employment rates, the average income of migrants tends to be considerably lower than non-migrants, particularly in Winnipeg, and much larger numbers are on social assistance.

Statistics Canada has analyzed the characteristics of Aboriginal migrants into Winnipeg against those of migrants moving from Winnipeg to other parts of the province or Canada.[9] In 1996, 14.9% of Winnipeg's Aboriginal people had moved in during the past five years, while an equivalent of 16.9% of the 1996 population had moved out, for a net out-migration of 1.9%.

The out-migrants were concentrated in the 25-44 age group, while there was a very small net in-migration of youth aged 15-24. There was a net out-migration of Aboriginal people with less than a high school diploma and, surprisingly, also of people with a post-secondary degree or diploma. There was a very small net in-migration to Winnipeg of people with Grade Twelve only. Both these facts lead to the conclusion that some net in-migration into Winnipeg involves persons with Grade Twelve seeking higher education in Winnipeg, who then tend to move out when they graduate. This is consistent with the low labour market participation rates of migrants into Winnipeg.

LOCAL RESIDENTIAL MOVES

Changes of residence within the same municipality account for most of the difference in apparent mobility rates between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

PERCENT MOVED WITHIN PAST YEAR, 1996 CENSUS

	N. Amer. Indians	*Metis*	*All Manitobans*
Non-Movers	77	73	85
Movers	16	20	10
Migrants	7	7	5

PERCENT MOVED WITHIN PAST FIVE YEARS, 1996 CENSUS[10]

	N. Amer. Indians	Metis	All Manitobans
Non-Movers	47	45	60
Movers	35	39	26
Migrants	17	16	14

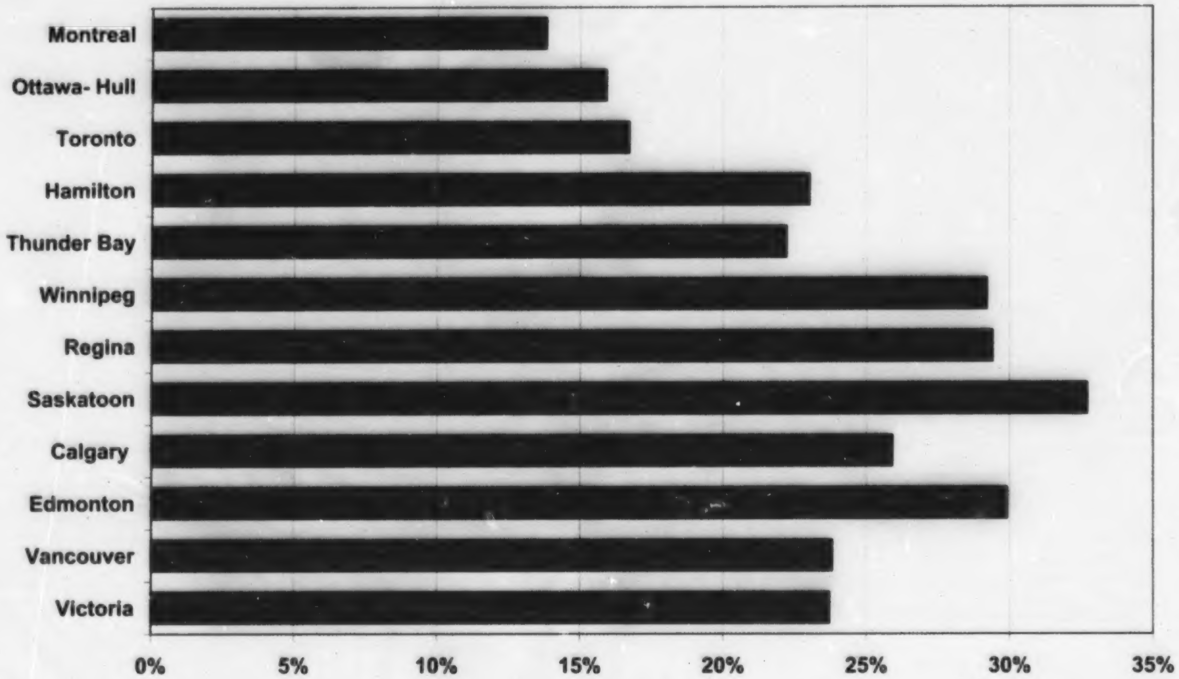
Metis people are actually more likely than North American Indians to indicate on the census that they had a different residence one or five years ago. However, this is simply because Metis people are more likely to live in the very large municipality of Winnipeg, where movements within the municipality are more likely. Of 37,405 Aboriginal people in Winnipeg aged five and over in 1996, only 10,385 had lived in the same residence five years earlier.

A study of residential mobility done for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples based on 1986-1991 data found that Winnipeg had the highest proportion of Aboriginal people moving of any major urban area in Canada–72% of respondents in 1991 reported a different residence five years earlier. Clatworthy et al reported:

> Aboriginal housing consumption was examined in relation to three commonly-accepted consumption standards: including affordability, adequacy and suitability ...Regardless of household type, Aboriginal households in Saskatoon, Regina and Winnipeg reported a considerably higher incidence of housing consumption deficiencies than those residing in other areas. Although moving represents an opportunity for the household to bring housing consumption better in line with needs and resources, most Aboriginal moves resulted in housing circumstances which continued to fail accepted consumption standards.[11]

In 1996, approximately 30% of Aboriginal households had moved from one Winnipeg residence to another in the past year alone. This is high compared to many major CMA's in Canada, but typical of Prairie CMA's:

% Aboriginal Dwelling Changes in One Year, Census Metropolitan Areas, 1996



Among major Canadian urban centres, Winnipeg has among the lowest rates of Aboriginal homeownership, and Aboriginal households who rent are approximately twice as likely to have moved in the past five years as those who own their homes.[12]

Probably, housing tenure explains most if not all differences in rates of intramunicipal moves between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal households, and among different types of Aboriginal households. Among Aboriginal single parent households in Winnipeg, less than 10% own their dwelling unit, which is a lower rate not only than two-parent households, but also non-family households. Consequently, the five-year moving rate for Aboriginal single parent households, at 80%, is higher than for two-parent households (65%) and non-family households (75%).[13] The relative persistence of non-Aboriginal people in their residences, of course, links back to their much higher rates of homeownership.

Due to the concentration of rental units in the inner city of Winnipeg, moving rates are generally much higher in these neighbourhoods, particularly among Aboriginal residents. Not captured by Census information is the number of families who may move several times over a five-year period. A 1995 study by Manitoba Health observed that:

> Migrancy [frequent movers] is a particular problem for inner city children ...Migrancy combined with poverty, single parent families and other social difficulties further exacerbates the difficulty of school aged children. In a 1992 review of inner city schools, the lowest [annual] migrancy rate was 40.6%. The highest rate was 84.7% ...Seventy-five percent of migrants were from unemployed single parent families ...In a nine-month period in 1992/93, there were 3,058 single parent family moves out of a possible 3,553.[14]

For example, William Whyte School (Kindergarten to Grade Nine) had the highest mobility rate in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 in 1997-98: with a total average enrollment of 243 students, there were 218 transfers.[15] If each transferred student moved only once, this would mean that of 20 students in a classroom in June, only two would have been there in September. However, some students are transferred more than once each year. The effect of this level of disruption on the children's education is immediately obvious.

ENDNOTES

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE: DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Aboriginal populations is 1991 Census and earlier were based upon ethnic origin or ancestry, and figures from these Censuses are not comparable with the 1996 Census.
2. 77 reserves were not enumerated or incompletely enumerated in the 1996 Census, with an estimated population of 40,000. Therefore the Census underestimates the Aboriginal populations of provinces in which these reserves are predominantly located, such as Ontario and Alberta. In Manitoba, only the small reserves of Jackhead and Dakota Tipi were not enumerated. If populations of non-enumerated reserves were included, Manitoba would probably ranks fourth in total Aboriginal population, behind Alberta. Information in this book is not adjusted for non-enumerated reserves.
3. Nunavut became a separate territory on April 1, 1999. In 1996 its population was included within Northwest Territories.
4. The Daily, January 13, 1998.
5. Unpublished data, 1996 Census. The Metis figures given here do not include Status Indians (persons registered under the Indian Act) who also indicated Metis identity on the Census: 4,360 persons in Manitoba, and 25,760 nationally.
6. For administrative purposes, Northern Affairs includes in its definition of "northern" areas of the Interlake and east of Lake Winnipeg that by other definitions are considered southern, such as Peguis, the Lake St. Martin area, and Manigotagan/ Wanipogow/ Hollow Water. For this reason, the northern counts above seem high, especially for Status Indians, and the southern numbers correspondingly low.
7. Unpublished data, 1996 Census, special roll-up for the Privy Council Office in Ottawa. In this chart, "Other Aboriginal" includes Metis, Non-Status Indian, Inuit and multiple responses, but is primarily Metis.
8. 1996 Census data plus Manitoba Northern and Aboriginal Affairs data for adjacent communities. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) data for on-reserve population varies somewhat from these data. INAC data is unavailable for urban areas.
9. For example, Census counts of the Status population of The Pas rose from 480 to 886 in five years, of Dauphin from 130 to 321, of Portage la Prairie from 590 to 935, and so forth. Natural increase in the population would be on the order of 12% in five years, and there is no collaborating evidence of a movement of Status Indians to smaller urban centres in 1991-96.
10. A total of 15,517 C-31 applications were processed as of 1999. Of these, 10,203 were completed between 1985 and 1991. Only 1,005 have been processed in 1997-99. Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
11. Four Directions Consulting Group, "Implications of First Nations Demography," August 1997.
12. The same conclusion was reached before 1996 by comparing 1991 Census data with previous Censuses. A CMHC analysis done in 1996 for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples found that of a group of 229,000 Status Indians counted in the 1981 who were expected to survive until 1991, only 203,000 were actually counted in the 1991 Census and APS. Based on an analysis excluding non-enumerated reserves and deducting C-31's from the 1991 count, it was concluded that approximately 12% of Status Indians aged 10+ were missed in 1991 over and above the non-enumerated reserves. See CMHC, "Canada's Aboriginal Population, 1981-1991," p.6.
13. Stewart Clatworthy and Michael Mendelson, "A Statistical profile of Aboriginal Youth in Canada," 1999, p.27.
14. Statistics Canada has calculated the net outflow of Aboriginal people from Winnipeg in 1991-96 at 1.9%. See Human Resources Development Canada, "Report on First Nations, Metis, Inuit and Non-status Peoples in Winnipeg's Urban Community," 1998, presentation to Round Table on Urban Aboriginal Challenges in Winnipeg, November 9 and 10, 1998 by Doug Norris, Statistics Canada.
15. For example, a study prepared by the Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, prepared in 1997 using 1991 Census figures, projected that Winnipeg's Aboriginal origin population would grow from 45,000 in 1991 to 76,600 in 2016. However this was based on the assumption that "the proportional shift from Indian Reserves between 1971 and 1991 will be repeated over the projection period," which so far is not happening. Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, "Manitoba's Aboriginal Populations Projected 1991-2016," pp. 9, 23.
16. Stewart Clatworthy, Four Directions Consulting Group, "Migration and Mobility of Canada's Aboriginal Population," p.9. Also see same author, "Implications of First Nations Demography, Final Report," August 1997, p.32. Each previous Census showed net inflow to both reserves and urban CMA's. 1991 was the last Census to show a net in-migration to urban CMA's generally, not only Winnipeg.
17. Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, "Manitoba Aboriginal People: A Statistical Profile 1996," 1998, p.11.

18. Briefing notes prepared by Statistics Canada in relation to HRDC's National Aboriginal Resource Allocation Model.
19. Manitoba government special tabulation of 1996 Census data. Thanks to Harvey Stevens for this analysis.
20. MMF special tabulation of 1996 Census data.
21. Incidentally, this group also would not have been included in the population sampled for the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey, which included an identity question. This means the APS undercounted this largely Metis & non-Status group.
22. Information for this section from Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, "Manitoba Aboriginal Persons: A Statistical Survey, 1996." Definitions of Indian and Metis groups in that study are based upon the identity question in the 1996 survey, rather than on a combination of identity and Indian Act registration, as commonly used in this book. Therefore, the Metis count of 45,000 includes over 4,000 registered Indians who indicate Metis identity. This may overestimate the use of Cree and Ojibway among the Metis population.
23. Josee Normand, "Language & Culture of the Metis People," in Canadian Social Trends, Statistics Canada, No. 43, Winter 1996, pp. 22-26.
24. Particularly Nault et al (1993), as reported in Four Directions Consulting Group, "Implications of First Nations Demography," Winnipeg, Manitoba, pp. 9-14.
25. Manitoba Children and Youth Secretariat, "Strategy Considerations for Developing Services for Children and Youth, March 1997, p.16.
26. Centre for International Studies, Canadian Council on Social Development, "Child Poverty: What are the Consequences," 1996, p.19.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO: HEALTH

1. "Trends in First Nations Mortality 1979-1993," Health Canada, 1996, p. 20. Discussions in sections "Mortality" to "Suicide" are based upon this source, unless otherwise noted.
2. Ibid, p. 23.
3. This measure weights age of death in accordance with variance from life expectancy, with greatest weighting in cases of infant mortality and least for old age-related causes of death.
4. Ibid, p. 68. Not including homicide rates, which were not analysed in this study.
5. Quoted in Ibid, p. 51.
6. Ibid, p. 43.
7. First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey National Steering Committee, 1999, pp. 66-70. Quote at beginning of this section is from this source, p. 68.
8. Manitoba Health, "Manitoba's Regional Diabetes Profile," 1997.
9. Louise Elliott, "Canadian First Nations Lead the Way at Diabetes Conference," in Indian & Northern Affairs, Transition, Winter 1998, p. 2.
10. Manitoba Health, "Diabetes: A Manitoba Survey," 1998, p. 4.
11. Manitoba Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat analysis, based on James Blanchard et al (see footnote 13 below).
12. James Blanchard, with Andrew Wajda & Chris Green, "Diabetes and Its Complications: Forecasting the Coming Storm," published by Manitoba Health, 1998 (unpaginated).
13. Manitoba First Nations Regional Health Survey, Final Report September 1998, p. 36.
14. Manitoba First Nations Regional Health Survey, Final Report September 1998, p. 8,71.
15. Manitoba Health, "Diabetes: A Manitoba Survey," 1998, p. 4.
16. Manitoba Health, "Manitoba's Provincial AIDS Strategy," (undated).
17. Manitoba AIDS Coalition, as cited in the Winnipeg Free Press, December 2, 1997.
18. Winnipeg AIDS Services Planning Committee, "Developing Culturally Appropriate HIV/AIDS Programs for Aboriginal People," unpublished, 1999. A study by the Canadian Aboriginal AIDS Network released in June 2000 estimated that one in four new HIV infections nationally are among Aboriginal people, rising to 43% in Saskatchewan. See Globe & Mail on-line, June 9, 2000.
19. Laboratory Centre for Disease Control, "Epi Update: HIV/AIDS Epidemiology among Aboriginal People in Canada. Ottawa: Health Canada, November 1997. See also Health Canada Information Sheet, "HIV/AIDS and Aboriginal People in Canada," June 1996.
20. Health Canada, 1999 @ http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/msb/fnihp/tb_e.htm.
21. Planning & Evaluation Unit, Health Canada Medical Service Branch, Manitoba Region, February, 1996, unpublished. Status Indian data from 1996-99 from Manitoba Health's TB Registry.
22. Alexandra Paul, John Lyons, Winnipeg Free Press.
23. First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey National Steering Committee, 1999, p. 11. The FNIRHS was a First

Nation and Inuit controlled health interview survey conducted in 1997 in nine regions (British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick & Labrador). Surveys included both national core questions and additional questions designed by regional authorities.

24. Manitoba First Nations Regional Health Survey, Final Report September 1998, p. 68-69. However, the NLSCY included a category "good" between "fair" and "very good" while the First Nations studies, rather inexplicably, did not. The health of 10% of NLSCY Canadian children was rated as "good".
25. Brian Gudmundson, "Urban Aboriginal Health Care Utilization: A Comparative Study of Status Indians and Other Winnipeg Residents," University of Manitoba, 1993. Quoted from Manitoba Northern Affairs, "Profile of Manitoba's Aboriginal Population, 1995, p. 18.
26. T.K. Young, "Measuring the Health Status of Canada's Aboriginal population: A Statistical Review and Methodological Commentary," Commissioned by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, University of Manitoba – Northern Health Research Unit, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1994.
27. Manitoba First Nations Regional Health Survey, Final Report September 1998, p. 53.
28. Analyses in this section are based upon data tables contained in Statistics Canada Catalogue #89-533, "Language, Tradition, Health, Lifestyle and Social Issues: 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey." A national overview of the same material has been published by Statistics Canada, entitled "A Profile of the Metis," 1996, Catalogue #89-547-XPE.
29. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, "Backgrounder: Social Development," based on 1994 Statistics Canada information.
30. During a 1996 inquiry, agencies for the disabled and disabled Aboriginal participants pointed to a lack of services in outlying Manitoba communities. See Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Aboriginal Persons with a Disability: Training and Employment Challenges," 1996, p. xi, 51. See also the report of the Provincial Aboriginal Youth Conference, "Windows to the Future: Time for Change," pp. 16-17 (Workshop 19: Disability Awareness)
31. Unpublished 1996 Census material. Numbers may not add up to 100% due to rounding error.
32. Brian Gudmundson, "Urban Aboriginal Health Care Utilization: A Comparative Study of Status Indians and Other Winnipeg Residents," University of Manitoba, 1993. Quoted from Manitoba Northern Affairs, "Profile of Manitoba's Aboriginal Population, 1995, p. 18.
33. Greg Pindera, Staff Writer, Winnipeg Sun, February 1997.
34. Winnipeg Free Press, Winnipeg Sun, February 25 and 26, 1997.
35. First Nations and Inuit Regional Health Survey National Steering Committee, 1999, p. 17.
36. Workshop on "Vulnerable Babies," Ottawa, November 10, 1997. Rates of smoking during pregnancy by contrast were higher for low SES mothers, including single parents. The NLSCY excluded on reserve residents, but over 4% of respondents were off-reserve Aboriginal people.
37. Alexandra Paul for the Winnipeg Free Press, September 9, 2000.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE: CHILD CARE & DEVELOPMENT

1. Manitoba Children & Youth Secretariat, "Strategy Considerations for Developing Services for Children & Youth," March 1997, p.6.
2. On-reserve populations are excluded from the sample of the NLSCY. Metis and off-reserve Aboriginal are included in the sample in numbers proportionate to their share of the population. Because of the child/youth demographic of the Aboriginal population, they are 4.3% of the sample. See Human Resources Development Canada, "Growing Up in Canada: National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth," 1996, pp.16-18. Quote from p.33.
3. Michael Rutter, "Resilience in the Face of Adversity: Protective Factors and Resistance to Psychiatric Disorder," In British Journal of Psychiatry Vol. 147, 1985. As quoted in Manitoba Children & Youth Secretariat, "Strategy Considerations for Developing Services for Children & Youth," March 1997, p.6.
4. Human Resources Development Canada, "Growing Up in Canada: National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth," 1996, p. 109. Parenting styles may reduce but do not eliminate the negative impact of low SES. "Negative parenting" is defined "harsh parenting" (showing frequent anger or annoyance at the child), inconsistency in discipline, and lack of positive interaction between mother and child. Of the three, harsh parenting by mothers appears to have the strongest negative impact. Father's parenting practices, by and large, were not captured in NLSCY questionnaires.
5. Stewart Clatworthy & Michael Mendelson, "A Statistical Profile of Aboriginal Youth in Canada," 1999, pp.33-34.
6. Manitoba Children & Youth Secretariat, information package dated September 1997, unpaginated.
7. Manitoba Department of Family Services Child & Family Support Branch.
8. Manitoba Children & Youth Secretariat, "Strategy Considerations for Developing Services for Children & Youth," March 1997, p.17. See also Canadian Red Cross Society, Winnipeg Region, "Vulnerable Youth Needs Assess-

ment," December 1995, p. 9: "In 1994/95, Winnipeg Child and Family Services had a year end case load of 2755 children. Of those, 40 percent were permanent wards (i.e. they will not be returning home) ...Of all permanent wards in 1995, 69.1 were Aboriginal." Winnipeg CFS served a total of 5,388 children in care in that year.

9. Winnipeg Free Press, June 2, 1998: "Aboriginals in CFS custody on increase" (sic).
10. There may be undercounting of Metis children by the mainstream CFS agencies.
11. Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, November 1991, @ www.ajic.mb.ca/volume1/chapter14.html., p. 14-15. On March 31, 1997, the on reserve CFS agencies also had in care 53 non-Status Indian children, but only one Metis child. The seven Inuit children in care were all under the mainstream CFS agencies.
12. Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, November 1991, @ www.ajic.mb.ca/volume1/chapter14.html., p.18. The number of Status children under First Nations CFS care has increased from 629 in 1984, to 1,012 in 1990, to 1,609 in 1997.
13. Manitoba Government News Release, February 22, 2000.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR: EDUCATION & TRAINING

1. S. Loizides and J. Zieminski for the Conference Board of Canada, "Members' Briefing: Employment Prospects for Aboriginal People," November 1998, based on a 1998 survey of 300 "very large companies" employing over 1,000 employees. 92% of companies had increasing Aboriginal workforce representation as an explicit objective but only half reported a strategy for achieving this.
2. Metis National Council, "Needs Assessment Study on Literacy for Metis People," p.65. Study undated on author's copy.
3. Unpublished 1996 Census data.
4. 1991 Census data, as analyzed by Literacy Partners of Manitoba. Two First Nations had 75% or more adults who had not completed Grade Nine. 19 First Nations had rates exceeding 50%, or almost one third of First Nations in Manitoba. These 19 First Nations had higher rates than any other Census District in Manitoba. A non-First Nation municipality occupied #20.
5. In 1991, 3.2% of Aboriginal-origin people aged 15 and over had completed a university degree, compared to 2.9% of Aboriginal-identity people in 1996. In 1991, there were reported to be 2,305 Aboriginal graduates, compared to 2.9% times 79,410 = 2,300 in 1996. As there have been several hundred Aboriginal university graduations since 1991, this again demonstrates the danger of comparing 1991 and 1996 Census figures.
6. Kaufman, Thomas & Associates, in association with Mendelson & Associates, "Report on Metis and Off-Reserve Aboriginal Issues," 2000, p.12.
7. Figure not available to author. For ALL Aboriginal people aged 15+ in Winnipeg, 4.3% had completed a degree, but for ages 30-39 this rises to 5.3%, and for ages 40-49, 7.7%.
8. See Chart. For most socio-economic statistics, if you set up a chart with columns in this order, the figures will rise or fall from left to right, with Metis falling between non-Aboriginal and Status. The higher university enrolment among Status Indians than Metis is extremely unusual, particularly given that more Metis have completed high school, which is a prerequisite.

NOTES TO FOCUS: YOUTH

1. Stewart Clatworthy & Michael Mendelson, "A Statistical Profile of Aboriginal Youth in Canada," 1999, pp.37-38.
2. Ibid, p.55-58. The chart below, comparing provincial/territorial school attendance is from this source.
3. Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, "Manitoba Aboriginal Persons: A Statistical Profile 1996," 1998, p.11. In this chart, "North American Indians" includes both Status and Non-Status.
4. Clatworthy & Mendelson, op cit, p.66.
5. Ibid, p.72.
6. Ibid, p.73.
7. 1981, 1986 and 1991 figures from Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Manitoba's Aboriginal Population Characteristics 1986-91," Unpublished draft dated February 1996, unpaginated appendix.
8. Clatworthy & Mendelson, op cit, p.74-75.
9. Ibid, p.76.
10. Ibid, p.78-80.
11. Ibid, p.85.
12. National Post Online @ wysiwyg://Network_Page.73/http:// www.nationalpost.com/news/story.html September 15, 2000. A recent Winnipeg Free Press article identifies the number of active gang members at 1,575 in 1997 and 1,560 in 1999–about 300 lower.
13. Ibid.

14. Canadian Red Cross Society, Winnipeg Region, "Vulnerable Youth Needs Assessment," December 1995, p.19.
15. Clatworthy & Mendelson, op cit, p.46-49.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE: JUSTICE

1. Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, November 1991, @ www.ajic.mb.ca/volume1/chapter4.html, p. 3. INAC measured a national crime rate on reserve of 165.6 per 1,000 population, compared to a Canadian crime rate of 92.7 per 1,000. Manitoba crime rates for areas policed by the RCMP in 1989-90 were 100.3 off reserve and 150.5 on reserve.
2. See www.sgc.gc.ca/Efact/eaboriginal.htm, p. 1. According to the 1996 Census, 29.05% of Canadian Aboriginal people live on reserve, though Census statistics undercount reserve populations and in particular 77 reserves not enumerated by Census takers. See Kaufman, Thomas & Associates: "Report on Metis and Off-Reserve Aboriginal Issues," 1999, p. 7.
3. Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, op cit, Ch.4 p.13.
4. Ibid, Ch.6, p.8. See also Ch.4, p.14-15.
5. Ibid, Ch.8 p.23.
6. Ibid, Ch.9 p.3,8.
7. Ibid, Ch.4 p.19.
8. Statistics Canada, "Juristat: The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics," Cat. No. 85-002-XIE Vol. 19 No. 5, p.10.
9. Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, op cit, Ch.3 p.20.
10. Ibid, Ch.10 p.23.
11. Ibid, Ch.4 p. 15,19.
12. Ibid, Ch.3 p. 20-21.
13. Ibid, Ch.4 p.14.
14. Statistics Canada, "Juristat: The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics," Cat. No. 85-002-XIE Vol. 19 No.4. See also Statistics Canada, "Adult Correctional Services in Canada 1997-98," Cat. No. 85-211-XIE, p.24.
15. Statistics Canada, "Adult Correctional Services in Canada 1997-98," Cat. No. 85-211-XIE, p. 25, 53. Also, Statistics Canada, "Juristat: The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics," Cat. No. 85-002-XIE Vol.19 No.4. p.5. It is important tc note that Manitoba counts admissions to custody differently from other provinces/territories. As explained in Juristat, "In Manitoba, these [sentenced admissions to custody] represent the front door status. In other words, people who enter the front door as arrestee or remandee status, and proceed through to being sentenced in this period, are not counted in these admissions." [Ibid.] In other jurisdictions, such persons would be represented as two or more admissions: for example, as arrested, then as remanded, then as sentenced. As a result, Manitoba admissions figures are not comparable to other jurisdictions, and are inaccurate as regards numbers of sentenced admissions to custody. By the same token, figures from other jurisdictions are inaccurate regarding total numbers of admissions to custody. The general effect of this, for comparative statistical purposes, is to underestimate Manitoba's penal admission numbers, and perhaps to underestimate Manitoba's proportion of Aboriginal admissions, relative to other jurisdictions.
16. Statistics Canada, "Juristat: The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics," Cat. No. 85-002-XIE Vol.19 No.5, p.9.
17. The Manitoba government in 1999 appointed an Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission to review progress to date on implementation of the AJI recommendations, and to make recommendations based on this review. In its June 30, 2000 report, the Commission observed that Aboriginal over-representation in male, female and youth facilities have increased since the AJI report. While declining to make an overall estimate, they noted that the most recent figures indicate that Aboriginal people make up 60% of the population in Headingley, 82.4% in Portage Correctional Centre for Women, 85% at the Agassiz Youth Centre, and 80.3% at the Manitoba Youth Centre. See www.ajic.mb.ca/reports/secondquarter.html. If Aboriginal people are 9% of the adult population and 70% of the prison population, mathematically this would make Aboriginal adults 23 times more likely to be incarcerated at any given time than non-Aboriginal adults. However, existing data are imprecise.
18. Aboriginal Justice Inquiry, op cit, Ch.13 p.18-19.
19. Jim Silver, "Solutions that Work: Fighting Poverty In Winnipeg's Inner City," 2000, p. 128.
20. Statistics Canada, "Adult Correctional Services in Canada 1997-98," Cat. No. 85-211-XIE, p.21.
21. See www.sgc.gc.ca/Efact/emyths.htm, p.2; also www.sgc.gc.ca/Efact/eaboriginal.htm, p. 1. International statistics were provided by the Council of Europe, Council of Penological Co-operation, September 1, 1996.
22. Statistics Canada, "Juristat: The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics," Cat. No.85-002-XIE Vol.19 No.4, p.2. Also, see Department of Justice Canada Performance Report for the period ending March 31, 1998, p.18.
23. For definitions of these terms, see the Solicitor General Canada web site at www.sgc.gc.ca/Efact/ealtincarceration.htm and www.sgc.gc.ca/Efact/erestjustice.htm.

24. Statistics Canada, "Juristat: The Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics," Cat. No. 85-002-XIE Vol.19 No.5, pp.4, 6, 10.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX: LABOUR & INCOME

1. The employment rate equals the number of people employed at time of survey divided by the total population aged 15 and over. It equals the labour market participation rate, discounted by the rate of unemployment. Due to its objectivity, the employment rate is the best available indicator of availability of employment relative to population. Participation and unemployment rates include a subjective element.
2. Because the Labour Force Survey is based on a relatively small sample, it is less reliable the smaller the aggregate population of the community for which it reports. The LFS is suitable for comparing unemployment and labour market participation rates at the Census Metropolitan Area level, and at the provincial level provided that the exclusion of on reserve communities is noted.
3. For discussion and analysis of variable Census wording, please see CMHC, "Canada's Aboriginal Population, 1981-1991," September 1996, p.2.
4. 1981 and 1991 figures from Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Manitoba's Aboriginal Population Characteristics 1986-91," Unpublished draft dated February 1996, p.7.
5. Mendelson & Associates, "Recent trends in Labour Markets for Aboriginal Peoples," November 1998, p.9.
6. Kaufman, Thomas & Associates, in association with Mendelson & Associates, "Report on Metis and Off-Reserve Aboriginal Issues, 2000, p.10.
7. Conference Board of Canada, "Employment Prospects for Aboriginal People," by S. Loizides and J. Zieminski, November 1998.
8. Ibid, p.20-21. Also, Kahtou magazine, June 1999, p.6.
9. Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 89-547-XPE, "A Profile of the Metis," p.46-47. These are national figures. Respondents could report more than one type of problem, so totals exceed 100%.
10. Kaufman, Thomas & Associates, in association with Mendelson & Associates, "Report on Metis and Off-Reserve Aboriginal Issues, 2000, p.10.
11. Unpublished 1996 Census data. The difference between Metis and mainstream labour market participation rate would widen somewhat if persons over the usual retirement age were omitted from the calculation, as more non-Aboriginal than Metis people are aged 65+. Those figures not available to the author. Against this must be offset the larger numbers of non-Aboriginal youth not in the labour market because of full-time attendance at school. So the adjusted labour market participation rates of Metis and non-Aboriginal people would still be similar.
12. Mendelson et al have applied the observation of simultaneous high participation and unemployment rates to the Aboriginal population as a whole, nationally. Unfortunately, First Nations labour market participation rates in Manitoba and Saskatchewan are much lower than the national average.
13. Metis National Council, "Needs Assessment Study on Literacy for Metis People," p.71. Study undated on author's copy.
14. It is not clear whether the employment situations on reserve has improved from 1991 and previous Censuses, because as noted these Censuses simply missed large numbers of people on reserve. It is also not clear how the employment situation for First Nations and other Aboriginal people has changed in Winnipeg, for the same reason. Presumably, people in worse economic circumstances would be easier to miss, skewing results from any comparison of existing statistics.
15. Industry Canada, "1996 Aboriginal Business Survey," @ strategis.ic.gc.ca/SSG/ra01605e.html.
16. Ibid @ strategis.ic.gc.ca/SSG/ra01647.html.
17. Martin Cash, business reporter for the Winnipeg Free Press, August 5, 1998. Statistics from 1981 and 1996 Census, in Industry Canada, "Aboriginal Entrepreneurs in Canada: Progress and Prospects," 1998. Also, Industry Canada, "1996 Aboriginal Business Survey," @ strategis.ic.gc.ca/SSG/ra01606e.html.
18. Industry Canada, "1996 Aboriginal Business Survey," @ strategis.ic.gc.ca/SSG/ra01647.html.
19. Goss Gilroy Inc., "Financial Performance and Employment Creation Related to Firms Assisted by Aboriginal Business Canada – Final Report," February 1996, pp.iii-iv.
20. Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 89-547-XPE, "A Profile of the Metis," p.45. These are national figures. Respondents could report more than one source of financing, so totals exceed 100%.
21. Median income refers to the income of "the average person"; i.e. the person in relation to whom half of the population earns less and half earns more. This is different from "average income," which is the total reported income divided by the number of respondents. Average income figures are several $1,000 larger than median income figures, because a relatively small number of wealthy people can raise the average considerably.

22. Statistics Canada, "The Daily," Tuesday, May 12, 1998, p.8 of 17.
23. "The reason the figure is not closer to 100%, as one might expect, is that many households receive social assistance for only part of the year and earn enough during the remainder to raise their total income above the poverty line." Canadian Council on Social Development, "The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty 1994," p.97.
24. Canadian Council on Social Development, "The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty 1994," p.96. All told, 75% of $56 billion spent on transfer payments in 1991 went to households receiving more than the LICO.
25. Four Directions Consulting Group, "Implications of First Nations Demography, Final Report," August 1997, p.69.
26. Ibid, p.72; see also Appendix A: Regional Social Assistance Trends.
27. For a comprehensive discussion of the debate regarding poverty indicators, please see "The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty 1994" published by the Canadian Council on Social Development.
28. Stewart Clatworthy & Michael Mendelson, "A Statistical Profile of Aboriginal Youth in Canada," 1999, p.90.
29. Ibid, p.91.
30. The LICO varies according to family size and size of community. The highest LICO rate is set for communities, like Winnipeg, with more than 500,000 people. This is why poverty and child poverty rate comparisons between Canadian cities and provinces can be misleading. All cities with over 500,000 people are assumed for purposes of the LICO to have an equal cost of living, which is of course not true. Winnipeg rental and housing prices are much less than in centres like Toronto and Vancouver, so that an individual or family can subsist on a lower income in Winnipeg. By the same token, Manitoba is often said to have one of the highest "child poverty" rates, simply because the majority of its citizens happen to reside in a city with over 500,000 people and a relatively low cost of living. In 1996 the LICO for a family of four living in Winnipeg was $31,862.
31. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Child Poverty in Manitoba: 1998 Report Card," pp.10-11. In many cases, of course, the pre-transfer income would have been zero.
32. See Statistics Canada, "The Daily," Tuesday, May 12, 1998, p.16: "The Statistics Canada survey that determines low income cut-offs... excludes these areas [on reserve, Yukon and Northwest Territories]."
33. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Child Poverty in Manitoba: 1998 Report Card," p. 19.

NOTES TO FOCUS: WINNIPEG

1. John Loxley, "Aboriginal Economic Development in Winnipeg," in Solutions that Work: Fighting Poverty in Winnipeg, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives – Manitoba, 2000, pp. 84-85.
2. The Status and Metis communities in Winnipeg are essentially equal in size. If persons indicating registration under the Indian Act but not Aboriginal identity are included in the count, the Status Indian count is slightly higher than the Metis; if not, the Metis count is slightly higher.
3. Defined as the area with McPhillips St. and Ingersoll St. as the western boundary, McMillan Ave. (Fort Rouge) and Rue Marion (St. Boniface) on the south, Rue Archibald and the Seine and Red Rivers on the east, and Carruthers Ave. on the north. This translates to Downtown/Exchange District, the North End, Wolseley, the eastern half of the West End, and older areas of Fort Rouge and St. Boniface. Elmwood and Weston are not included, though they have large Aboriginal populations. Certain high-income areas such as Wellington Crescent and Armstrong Point are included. See map in Solutions that Work: Fighting Poverty in Winnipeg, p. 28. The 1996 population of the inner city was 108,695 — down 24% from 1961, but fairly stable since 1981.
4. Stewart Clatworthy, Four Directions Consulting Group, "Migration and Mobility of Canada's Aboriginal Population," September 1996, p.v.
5. D. Lezubski, J. Silver & E. Black, "High and Rising: the Growth of Poverty in Winnipeg," in Solutions that Work: Fighting Poverty in Winnipeg, pp. 31-33. Figures are for all inner city residents, not just Aboriginal residents.
6. Ibid, p. 39.
7. Ibid, p. 42. Also, see Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Child Poverty in Manitoba: Report Card 1998," p. 17. In March 1997, 5,626 children lived in homes that accessed Winnipeg Harvest, which distributed a total of 5,560,973 pounds of food in 1997, compared to 835,451 pounds in 1987.
8. Ibid, p. 48.
9. Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, "Child Poverty in Manitoba: 1998 Report Card," p. 14.
10. Statistics Canada, Catalogue 89-533, "Language, Tradition, Health, Lifestyle and Social Issues: the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey," 1993, pp. 3, 4, 143, 153, 162, 173, 182.
11. See for example John Loxley, "Aboriginal Economic Development in Winnipeg," in Solutions that Work: Fighting Poverty in Winnipeg, p. 95: "The serious problems of the inner city became apparent in the late 1990's with extensive Aboriginal gang activity, a rapidly deteriorating housing stock and an outbreak of arson."
12. Unpublished 1996 Census data. The median income for this chart is derived by averaging male and female median

incomes.

13. Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, Manitoba Aboriginal Persons: A Statistical Profile," 1998, p.8.
14. Unpublished 1996 Census data.
15. Norris, Beavon & Saunders for Indian Affairs Dept. Strategic Research, "Winnipeg's First Nations Members: Location, Migration & Population," unpublished draft, November 1999, p.11.
16. Ibid, p.17.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN: HOUSING & MOBILITY

1. Housing figures are based upon unpublished 1996 Census data, and refer to the population in private (non-institutional) housing: 127,500 out of 128,910 Aboriginal people in Manitoba.
2. Backgrounder to May 1996 press release, INAC (www.inac.gc.ca/news/may96/1-9630.html) pp. 1-2.
3. Ibid.
4. 1994/95 data: "Results of DIAND Program Review and 1996 Budget" News Release Fact Sheet, March 6, 1996. Quote taken from Health Canada, "Trends in First Nations Mortality 1979-1993," Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada, 1996, pg. 15.
5. Stewart Clatworthy, Four Directions Consulting Group, "Migration and Mobility of Canada's Aboriginal Population," September 1996, pp.iii.
6. Ibid, p.13.
7. In fact, the gap in education between migrants and non-migrants is probably larger than this, because the migrants were more likely to be in the younger 15-29 age group, which as a whole has lower educational attainments than the 30-49 age group.
8. This finding for Manitoba is not consistent with Clatworthy et al (1996) and several previous national studies, which suggest labour market participation is higher among Aboriginal migrants than non-migrants.
9. Doug Norris, Statistics Canada, presentation to Round Table on Urban Aboriginal Challenges in Winnipeg, November 9th and 10th, 1998. Published by Human Resources Development Canada in "Report on First Nations, Metis, Inuit and Non-status Peoples in Winnipeg's Urban Community."
10. Manitoba Bureau of Statistics, "Manitoba Aboriginal Persons: A Statistical Profile 1996," 1998, p. 15. Small variances between the figures in this chart and figures given above are due to the fact that the Manitoba Bureau of Statistics defined the Aboriginal groups slightly differently.
11. Clatworthy, op cit, pp.v-vi.
12. Ibid, p.22.
13. Ibid, pp.20-22.
14. Brian Postl, Manitoba Health, "The Health of Manitoba's Children," 1995, pp. 107-108.
15. Heather Hunter, "In the Face of Poverty: What a Community School Can Do," in Solutions that Work" Fighting Poverty in Winnipeg, p.111.

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